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ABSTRACT

This report is a narrative account of a seminar devoted to analyzing processes of change and discussing strategies used in various Western countries to plan, develop, implement, and manage change. Subtopics of focus were cultural pluralism, management, governance and finance; career preparation; and early childhood education. The seminar's opening and final sessions and visits to field sites in 4 American cities are described. For each center the site and organization of the local school systems are indicated, background detail is given on problems in each jurisdiction, and addresses and panel discussions on the subtopics are summarized. The implications for education in Ontario are discussed briefly. An introduction to the Toronto Educational Governance/Multiculturalism Case Study is presented in the form of a narrative account of the Toronto school system. In addition, the following 5 subjects are discussed: the recollections of a woman involved with the system for over 80 years; the historical development of Canada and the Toronto board's response to waves of immigrants; existing language transition and multicultural programs; information on the work group on multiculturalism; current policies and programs; and findings from interviews conducted with members of the school system and the community with an analysis of interpretations of multiculturalism and change in education. In the appendices the study's methodology, statistics on cost and organization, the interview schedule, and a bibliography are presented. (Author/GC)

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TORONTO EDUCATIONAL GOVERNANCE/ MULTICULTURALISM CASE STUDY

A Study of the Toronto School System in Terms of Governance and Multiculturalism and a Report on the IMTEC/U.S. Bicentennial Seminar on Managing Change in Urban Education

JOHN MURRAY, Principal Investigator

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ABSTRACT

The report is a narrative account of a seminar held from October 10 to 29, 1976, sponsored by International Management Training for Educational Change and the U.S. Office of Education, devoted to analysing the processes of change and to discussing the strategies used in various Western countries to plan, develop, implement, and manage change. The subtopics of the seminar were: Cultural Pluralism; Management, Governance, and Finance; Career Preparation; and Early Childhood Education.

Described are: the opening session sponsored by Harvard University and Lesley College; field site visits to Dallas, New York City, Salt Lake City, and San Diego; and the final session in Los Angeles. For each centre, the size and organization of the local school systems are indicated, background detail is given on the most pressing problems in each jurisdiction, and addresses and panel discussions on the seminar's subtopics are summarized.

The implications of the seminar's discussions for education in Ontario are briefly discussed under: multiculturalism, management and governance, finance, career education, early childhood education, the change process in urban systems, national curriculum goals, community involvement, basics and testing, communicating with the public, teachers and teacher training, declining enrolments, and information systems.

There follows an introduction to the Toronto Educational Governance/Multiculturalism Case Study; and the study itself, prepared for and presented at the seminar, appears as an appendix. The introduction describes the process by which the case study was developed and gives a broad outline of the study's contents.

The study, a narrative account of the Toronto school system, discusses: the recollections of a woman involved with the Toronto system for over 80 years; the historical development of Canada and the Toronto board's response to successive waves of immigrants; existing programs to ease the transition to English or to maintain other cultures; the origins and operations of the work group on multiculturalism, with indications of the costs of implementing their recommendations; current board policies and programs; and the findings from interviews conducted with 76 people in the school system and community, with an analysis of their interpretations of multiculturalism and of forces operating in support of and in opposition to change. The study's appendices present: the methodology; a statistical and organizational profile of the school system: enrolments, staffing numbers, and costs of New Canadian programs; the interview schedule; and a bibliography of 53 items.

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PART I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE SEMINAR

Sponsorship

The seminar was sponsored jointly by IMTEC (International Management Training for Educational Change) and the U.S. Office of Education. IMTEC is a decentralized project of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) which provides training opportunities for educational leaders from member countries. The U.S. Office of Education asked that the seminar be held in the United States as part of the bicentennial celebration.

Objective

The seminar's goals were:

1. To permit European and North American educational, political, and financial leaders to:
   a) identify and analyse the processes and strategies used by various U.S. and foreign urban educational systems in dealing with selected critical issues: i.e., cultural pluralism, integration, equal educational opportunity, governance, management, finance, the transition from youth to adulthood, and early childhood education,
   b) facilitate and promote the exchange of information and experiences among the seminar participants, and
   c) explore the problems of planning, developing, implementing, and managing educational reforms.
2. To develop in the participants a greater awareness and understanding of the complex and diverse urban educational systems existent in the participating countries.
3. To encourage and develop in the participants an ability to look beyond individual cases and single-solution approaches, to deal with the interrelationships, complexities, and alternatives required for the management of educational change.
4. To establish the foundation for an international network of urban educational systems, thereby promoting the continuance of change.

Themes

The general focus of the seminar was on the management of change in urban education. Four subtopics of urban education were selected for concentrated study:

1. *Cultural Pluralism*
   This concept includes the areas of integration, bilingual education, affirmative action programs, equal educational opportunity, and compensatory education programs.
2. *Management, Governance, and Financing*
   Plans and techniques employed by urban school districts to manage large bureaucracies more efficiently and effectively, including management by objectives, organizational development, PPBS, and participative management programs.
3. *Career Preparation of Late Adolescents*
   Means employed by urban school districts to provide opportunities for guidance and training of late adolescents, including career education, community college, vocational-technical training, academic counselling, and cooperative programs with business and industry.
4. *Early Childhood Education*
   Approaches attempted by urban school districts to provide pre-school educational opportunities, including compensatory education, day care, and enrichment programs.

Each foreign participant selected one of these subtopics as his/her special interest at the seminar.

The seminar was divided into three segments: an introductory session at Harvard University and Lesley College, field site visits at New York City, Salt Lake City, Dallas, and San Diego, and a concluding session at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

The Harvard-Lesley Session

During the two and a half days in Boston the delegates participated in the following activities:

a) Met with others who were to visit the same field site. A representative from the field site and a group facilitator for the field site team attended the Harvard-Lesley session. This field-site group served as a home base for each "family group" while at the seminar. While in Boston, the group became acquainted and learned about and reviewed the forthcoming field site visits.

b) Joined with those who were members of the same topic group as well as with an American expert on the topic chosen. The visitors were afforded an opportunity to discuss, question, and further clarify the topical issues in the American context.

c) Heard welcoming addresses and substantive presentations by American experts on the present state of affairs in the American educational system with an emphasis on urban American education.

Field Site Visits

Four urban field sites were available for visitation by the foreign participants. They were Dallas, Texas; New York City, New York; Salt Lake City, Utah; and San Diego, California. Each field site prepared a "case package" on the four subtopics in the local context, providing the participants with a basis for understanding the operative dynamics in that school system. Each foreign delegate visited one of the field sites in order to:

a) Study the school district in general, identify the district's problems and the strategies that it has employed in dealing with these issues, and determine how "successful" the district has been in solving its problems.
b) Focus on the subtopic of interest.
c) Participate in general "clarification sessions" at which members of the field-site visiting team, the host school district, and the community met to discuss questions and comments that the visitors had regarding their experiences.

Culminating Convocation – Los Angeles

For the final week of the seminar all participants convened for a culminating experience under the auspices of the University of California at Los Angeles. The purposes of this phase of the seminar were to:

a) Meet in the topic subgroups to continue discussions based on learning from the four field sites.
b) Hear presentations from fellow participants regarding innovative programs.
c) Conclude discussions regarding critical problems in urban education based on subtopic groups.
d) Hear major addresses on selected topics considered important to the general theme.

Participants

Some 80 foreign participants took part in the seminar. Representation by country was as follows: Australia (1), Belgium (1), Canada (22), Denmark (2), England (5), West Germany (7), Ireland (3), Netherlands (11), Norway (18), Scotland (1), Sweden (4), Switzerland (5). A number of the Canadian participants attended for only a portion of the three weeks. The Canadians were from the North York Board of Education (1), the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (1), the Ontario Ministry of Education (4), the Quebec Ministry of Education (1), the Toronto Board of Education (11), the University of Ottawa (1), the University of Saskatchewan (1), and the Vancouver Board of Education (2).

PART II

SUMMARY OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SEMINAR

a) Harvard-Lesley Session – Boston

The seminar opened in the Gutman Library of Harvard University on Sunday evening, October 10. The foreign participants were welcomed by Richard Williams, Professor of Education, University of California at Los Angeles; Per Dalin, Head of International Management Training for Educational Change (IMTEC), Oslo, Norway; Paul Ylvisaker, Dean, School of Education, Harvard University; Tom Carter, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.; and William Pierce, Acting Commissioner of Education for the United States, Washington, D.C.

The keynote speaker on Monday, October 11, was William J. Leary. His address, "Desegregation, Race and Social Class", reflected his experience as Superintendent of Education in troubled Boston between 1972 and 1975. The city of Boston comprises mainly working- and lower-class people, the middle class having moved to the suburbs. For 12 years the people were told by their political leaders that there would be no bussing. They felt betrayed when a Court ordered bussing within the City but not in the suburbs. The racial conflict was reported in the press, but the underlying and continuing social-class differences were not. Some 40% of the black teenagers are unemployed, compared to 16% of the whites. The competititon between the races for jobs and housing has thus far prevented any coalition of working-class blacks and whites. A Tri-Lateral Committee of school system, business, and higher education (57 institutions) has been formed to help improve the school system. (Labour was not invited to participate on the presumption that they would not be interested.) Leary doubts that much improvement will happen without legislation to equalize the tax burden across the city and suburbs. Proposals are blocked at the State level despite the fact that 55% of the property in Boston is tax exempt. There was little optimism in either the presentation or in answers to questions. The basic problems were defined as political and economic, not educational.

Later that morning, Ruby Takanishi, an Assistant Professor from UCLA, made another gloomy address concerning early childhood education in the United States. Miss Takanishi expressed disappointment with both federally sponsored programs: Headstart and Follow Through. Much of her presentation was used to detail the conflicts and contradictions of the past ten years. In conclusion she listed pros and cons of delivering early childhood education through the schools, noting that:

1. It would eliminate fragmentation of early childhood programs.
2. Facilities and administration are in place.
3. It would boost the cognitive component of early childhood programs.
4. Schools are capable and publicly accountable.
5. It would eliminate the discontinuity between pre-school and school programs.

Her reservations were:

1. Schools are not doing their own job very well.
2. Schools are not sensitive enough for young children.
3. Schools do not support family development.
4. Schools have expressed little concern for pre-schoolers.

Following lunch, Hugh Livingstone, former Superintendent of Schools in San Mateo and Executive Director of the Canyon Institute, reviewed school management in the United States. He suggested that Program Budgeting (PPBS) had not worked: it was killed in California by a strange alliance of educators and conservative local autonomists. Management by Objectives (MBO) required a high time commitment which could not be met in a time of crises and cuts. Another management technique called the Decision Seminar, which is being used by Detroit and San Francisco, also requires a lot of administrative time but offers some hope for very complex difficult situations. Decentralization strategies were noted as a way of making systems more directly accountable to their constituents. Another strategy called Third Party Intervention seemed to be a task force or work group approach with a neutral chairperson from outside the system. Livingstone concluded by deploring the lack of training and retraining opportunities for management personnel in a time of decline and stagnation.

The second day of the seminar began with Charles Willie of Syracuse University. A black sociologist with extensive experience in juvenile delinquency and the poverty program, Willie gave an insightful, dynamic lecture. He proposed that the subdominant peoples in a society must be given a say in its operation. The dominant group must be constrained and obliged to take subdominants into account. To exclude subdominants from full participation in decision-making will lead inevitably to violence. He proposed that the dominant group should be limited to a maximum of 66% of the representation on any board or committee to ensure that diverse opinions are considered. The dominants can also be constrained by the "power of protest" and the "power of veto". The existence of incompatible desires in a pluralistic society must be recognized. This can happen gradually as the subdominant representative grows politically.

Initially the neophyte representative must focus exclusively on his particular problem. That specific problem must be given priority over more general concerns. Awareness of the larger picture will grow as the representative comes to make alliances and coalitions. Thus three key elements in the decision-making process are conflict, conciliation, and cooperation. Willie felt that quiet subdominant groups should be ignored. Token representation is worse than none. Only when subdominants themselves demand a place at the bargaining table should they be considered. Then the dominants (generally older, white, affluent, male) must share the power to make and enforce rules to avoid an uprising. Dominants will never share power willingly; it must be taken. Dominants will share power out of self-interest in order to maintain their dominant position.

Harry Rivlin, Dean Emeritus of Fordham University, offered some optimistic observations during his presentation on the transition to work. Over the past 25 years, the number of white male college graduates has doubled and the number of black male college graduates has increased fourfold. In the U.S. there are now 3 million students enrolled in 1000 Community Colleges. More than half of all high school students have had or now have paid work. The transitional nature of adolescence has been overemphasized. Adolescence is a stage in itself and adolescents are people in their own right, not just because they are becoming adults. He would like to see more opportunities for youth to work and more outlets for their energy and enthusiasm.

During the afternoon, Per Dalin of IMTEC talked about change processes in education. He noted that priorities are more crucial in periods of decline than in times of expansion and that change is controlled by those who make the definition of the problem (set the agenda). He presented a schematic model of change which acknowledged that an organization would itself be changed by accommodating an innovation.

Wednesday morning, October 13, began with a powerful presentation by Bruce Gaarder of the U.S. Office of Education. Mr. Gaarder is a language specialist and an expert in bilingual and bicultural education. He began by asserting that cultural pluralism is not an educational issue. While it may seem to be a problem to educators, the basic problems are jobs, money, power, and status and their unequal distribution. Schools serve mainly as custodial institutions, as a mechanism for controlling access to jobs, as a transmitter of the myth of equality (i.e., to make low-status people blame their poor circumstances on themselves). The assertion that schools are not working may not reflect a deficiency in the schools, teachers, kids, tests, or parents, but rather the continued existence of significant groups of poor and powerless people. There are six federal programs in education to provide equal educational opportunity: namely, cultural pluralism, compensatory education, equal educational opportunity, affirmative action, bilingual/bicultural education, and desegregation. But 60% of the variance in math and reading scores in New York can be accounted for by three non-school variables – broken home, overcrowded home, years of formal education of the mother. Obviously, equal educational opportunity is impossible or even unconstitutional. It does not redistribute money or power. From this perspective cultural pluralism is a new euphemism for melting pot. It is a dream, a joke, a myth, an appeasement to poor people, nostalgia revisited. Even so, it need not be discarded, because it makes assimilation more humane. Many available jobs require relatively little education. People with less education are more productive and dependable in many jobs. Educational status inflation (raising qualifications unnecessarily) creates jobs for educators and serves to discriminate against the poor and powerless when jobs are scarce. This analysis of the situation led Gaarder to offer five conclusions. First, as centres of learning, schools are extremely successful. Second, as instruments of national policy, schools are also extremely successful in that they reconcile the contradiction of the scarcity of jobs with the notion of egalitarianism. Third, schools provide a place for hundreds of thousands of young people for whom there are no jobs. Fourth, schools reconcile the elitist reality with the egalitarian illusion. Fifth, schools are successful because they have maintained the illusion that equal educational opportunity is somehow the same as real equality. Real equality involves the redistribution of income and power, but schools have no mandate or method for bringing this about.

The Boston segment of the seminar concluded with a panel of three persons discussing the recent history and current circumstances of Boston schools. The panelists included Eric Van Loon, an attorney who had been continuously involved in the desegregation struggle; Robert Schwartz, a former teacher, currently educational adviser to the mayor; and Joyce Grant, a black woman graduate student at Harvard, presently in charge of a program promoting excellence in Boston schools. Through a variety of strategies Boston avoided implementing the desegregation decisions for 10 years. The five-person School Commission is elected at large and does not represent the minorities living in Boston. Neither the Commission nor the Mayor were willing to oppose the wishes of their own segregationist constituents. One result was that the Commission forfeited grants worth $50 million. The Court Order by Judge Garrity that forced desegregation was quite specific. It even instructed that a black/white ratio of one to one be maintained in hiring. The speaker from the Mayor's office indicated that the Mayor had little power over education even though Council approved the School Commission budget, the location of new schools, and capital funds. The Mayor's office had designed and proposed a reorganization of the school system involving the election of local school committees. It was never seriously considered, because implementation of the Garrity Court Order took precedence. A revised plan is now being prepared, but a referendum is required before the State can implement it. Judge Garrity also forged the Tripartite Alliance between the School Commission, business, and the post-secondary institutions. The Alliance is designed to make schools sensitive to the needs of business and of the post-secondary sector and to tap their resources for use in upgrading the school program. Under the plan, each school or school district in Boston is twinned with a post-secondary institution. Miss Grant, the coordinator of the Harvard-Roxbury district project, is cautiously optimistic. While initial distrust on both sides is abating, it is still too early to assess the effectiveness of the Alliance.

Throughout the Boston segment of the seminar, several meetings were held for persons going to the various field sites and those who shared an interest in the four subtopics. The field-site group meetings were used to brief the participants on the system they would be entering. The interest groups – career education, governance and finance, multiculturalism, and early childhood education – met initially to share experiences from their home environments and subsequently to discuss and develop the ideas put forth by the speakers. There were people from each interest group in each site group and vice versa. While the system was logistically messy, it facilitated a high level of interaction.

b) Field Site Visits

From October 13 through October 20 seminar participants visited one of four field sites. The visits were designed to provide an overview to the participants and to allow them to investigate their special interests in schools and classrooms. The people of the host systems were most hospitable and generous with their time. The schedule of activities was carefully planned but seemed overly full to many participants. The visits demonstrated forcefully that Americans are very energetic hard-working people.

1. New York

There are approximately eight million people in New York City; one million of them are on welfare and 650,000 live in public housing. The proportion of black and Hispanic (80% Puerto Rican) in the population has risen from one-third to two-thirds over the past 10 years. About 75%

(1.1 million) of the school-age population attend 919 large public schools. The remainder, mainly white, attend private or parochial schools. Public support for the schools is eroding and the tax base is shrinking. Severely reduced revenue led to 20,000 people being laid off during the past two years. Of those laid off, 16,000 were teachers, and the teaching force was reduced to approximately 46,000 (65% male) without any reduction in enrolment. About 10% of the remaining teachers are minority, compared to 35% among those laid off. People with up to 18 years' experience were let go. All guidance counsellors with up to 12 years' experience were eliminated. There is now no one left on staff with less than 6 years' experience, and this has raised both the average age and average salary of the teaching force. The lay-offs were done strictly by seniority with system-wide bumping. Thus schools in undesirable areas with a high proportion of younger teachers were disrupted for weeks as the bumping proceeded. In some schools a specific position would be filled and unfilled six times within a three-week period.

There is a seven-person appointed school board. The mayors of the five boroughs each appoint one member and the mayor of the city of New York appoints two. They are paid a per diem for a maximum number of days which limits their salary to $26,000 a year.

Stephen Aiello, the Vice-President of the Board, is the representative from Brooklyn and a former advocate of community control of schools. He stated that "community control is pie in the sky when you don't raise your own money and when the unions are organized on a city-wide basis". While there are 32 community school districts with elected boards, most power and responsibility rests with the central board, whose annual budget exceeds $2 billion. The community boards appoint district superintendents and elementary principals and establish district policy. However, the central board operates all high schools and provides Personnel Services, Curriculum Development, and Financial Management including purchasing. It also sets city-wide policy and functions as a court of final appeal except in matters of discipline and civil rights. The boundaries of the community school districts were originally set so that none would be smaller than 20,000 (now reduced to 15,000). Mr. Aiello noted that while many community school boards have been accused of being patronage mills, there have been only four formal investigations of corruption.

The Chancellor of the New York City school system, Irving Anker, is approaching retirement. Like most of his staff, he received all of his education (including college) and experience in New York schools. He told the visitors that New York had a better educational record than most cities. Nine out of forty National Science Awards came to New York students, whereas only three went to students from California. The State provides about 20% of the education budget, some comes directly from the Federal government (10%), but the bulk is from the city, which has cut education more deeply than other services. The city may not borrow money without the permission of the State. Anker was critical of Faculties of Education for being divorced from the public schools. He would prefer a medical internship model where the professors are active practitioners.

Bernard Gifford, the Vice-Chancellor, is 34, a black, and a former President of the Rand Corporation. It's the third year in the system for this financial expert, who is another product of the New York school system. His interest in the public sector grew out of an incident involving Mayor Lindsay several years earlier. During an election campaign, Lindsay had promised to build some new hospitals. After the election 32 communities emerged claiming to have been promised a hospital. Lindsay claimed he had promised only seven and retained Rand Corporation to determine the locations on the basis of greatest need. The Rand study concluded that there was already 20% overcapacity and serious duplication of expensive treatment facilities, but the new hospitals were still built.

Gifford has developed a statistical profile of every school and hopes that analyses will reveal the combination of manipulable variables that produce "Unusually Effective Schools". He hopes that the financial crisis will force people to listen to the results of the analyses.

Gifford believes that the lock-step approach to education has to be broken and wishes to remove the contextual constraints of the school day, period, and number and combination of subjects in order to improve the mean performance of students. He would also link work to school, especially for lower-class students, in an apprenticeship model. Several bright students work as his personal, paid part-time aides.

"The current financial cuts are deeper than those of the Great Depression. Still it is wrong to expect a whole generation to suffer for the waste and mismanagement of Rockefeller and other politicians." Gifford asserted that "the City's books could be balanced simply by taking back the money that Rockefeller's drained out of the City over the years." The Chase Manhattan bank made many millions from municipal bonds, the interest from which is tax free. The bankers knew the situation was bad, that there was $12 billion in outstanding debt, but they didn't stop handling the bonds until their commissions dried up after the market was completely saturated. In his words, "If we're lucky we'll see many bankers indicted but I'm not hopeful."

The school board now feeds 530,000 pupils lunch every day. The union that runs the feeding program received a $200,000 grant from the Federal government to help them lobby for a free breakfast program, which is now mandated. The Board is now being sued by the union for not implementing the program fast enough. Gifford said, "It's Orwellian doublethink to mandate free breakfast and lunch and to lay off 20,000 people at the same time."

The following observations and comments are intended to reflect other aspects of the New York City school system:

- Only emergency repairs are being made to buildings. Buildings are being swept only every other day.
- 303 assistant principals who were "excessed" are being retained for 4 months with COLA money contributed by the Supervisors' union. When that runs out they will bump classroom teachers.
- School nurses now visit schools only once a month.
- Brandeis High School has 5,000 students (2,000 Hispanic), 47 ESL teachers; most subjects are available to 800 Spanish-speaking students in either English or Spanish.
- Intense security in all schools; washrooms are locked in the high schools and must be opened by a security person. Parent volunteers help with security in some schools to replace those laid off.
- The results of a system-wide testing program are published annually on a school-by-school basis.
- Senior staff in some district offices are openly opposed to decentralization; others say that the implementation of decentralization was deliberately neglected in order to guarantee its failure.
- There is severe competition among the districts and between the districts and the central board for outside (generally Federal) funding. Extensive use is made of proposal writers and lobbyists. These special "reimbursable" funds are supposed to be supplementary and temporary. When the projects are established and proven, they are supposed to be taken over by the board and financed from the regular tax levy. Generally projects are very specific and have a 1-year term. Some 5,000 of the current 46,000 teachers were protected from the staff cutbacks because they were being paid with reimbursable funds. Nevertheless, they live a tenuous year-by-year existence.
- One unanticipated consequence of decentralization is that the community district boards, although many have mostly female members, are strongly biassed toward males in their appointments, thus thwarting affirmative action policies.
- Staff cuts have been particularly demoralizing to professional development staff, who saw all of their recently trained young people laid off.

- Many students are turned off beginning about grade 3 because of the concentration on basics. One superintendent said, "We don't offer anything they're not going to be tested on – everything is based on competency in reading and mathematics."
- South Shore High School has an enrolment of 5,400 students. It raises approximately $40,000 a year by selling pretzels ($5,000), pop machines ($3,000), etc. The principal said, "New York has decided that foreign languages are useless; they're not required for college; French is as dead as Latin; but Italian and Spanish are growing, as is Chinese."
- Many people attributed considerable power to the teachers' union. This was hard to reconcile with the facts that (1) the union has just lost the "check-off" as a penalty for an illegal 5-day strike, (2) teachers were fined 10 days' pay for the 5-day strike and had to pay full income tax on the money they didn't receive, and (3) the negotiated maximum class size is generally exceeded, often by a significant percentage.
- There are more non-teaching staff. Schools appear to have large numbers of clerical, cafeteria, and security people even after two years of severe cuts.
- The emphasis on career education is ironic especially in the light of high unemployment rates among youth (40% for minority, 20% for whites).
- The bilingual/bicultural education program is a bright spot. Both teachers and students seemed enthusiastic and optimistic.
- Despite centralization and a generally traditional (formal) style of education, there is variation in tone and style from district to district and school to school.

2. San Diego

San Diego's population is 773,000; that of the metropolitan area about 1.5 million. The San Diego unified school district educates 122,213 children (32% minority) in 123 elementary schools, 19 junior high schools, 14 comprehensive high schools, and two junior-senior high schools. The district, which employs 6,000 professional staff, is governed by a five-member board. While the members are nominated by voters in a particular district, they are elected system-wide. The district is geographically complex, without a coherent core or a good system of public transit.

Federal funds account for 7% to 10% of the district budget. These funds are directed to very specific programs, generally require community involvement, and are temporary. While some programs are undertaken which would be unlikely to receive local funding, there are disadvantages. An inordinate amount of time is required to prepare proposals and to monitor and evaluate programs. This can divert attention from the basic program and the majority of students. These specially funded programs are difficult to coordinate with the regular program and are subject to non-renewal annually. Probably because of Hawthorne effect, the selection of enthusiastic sites for projects, and the fact that extra funding gives status, the federally funded programs seem to be evaluated prematurely and favourably. While some people don't like categorical aid, most feel obliged to try to get some for their schools.

There is extensive use of lobbyists at both the Federal and the State level. In some cases these people actually draft the legislation. The lobbyists' prime function is to represent the general interests of the school district, although they also assist in framing proposals for special funding.

The courts have quite an influential role in education. For example, a San Francisco court ruled (Lau decision) that failure to provide instruction in a language understood by the student violated the principle of equal educational opportunity. This has given a boost to bilingual education, but it has done nothing to provide funds for such programs. San Diego, like most U.S. school districts, seems to be constantly embroiled in costly, time-consuming legal battles.

The school district has a pyramidal organizational structure with a superintendent, two deputies, and a number of assistant deputies. In the elementary and secondary panels, a set of schools is the responsibility of a director who also carries a functional responsibility, e.g., budget or curriculum.

The state curriculum guidelines are the base for locally developed programs. The state-approved list of textbooks allows considerable choice, more than many teachers deem necessary.

A citizens' advisory committee participates in developing the budget. The committee members then help sell the tax levy to the voters. Sometimes attempts to be efficient clash with thrusts toward community participation and decentralization. One example is a "fasttrack" method of school construction, which allows limited opportunity for local input. Similarly, the board buys only one-third the required number of textbooks in each subject and relays them sequentially through the schools.

A professional negotiator has been employed to negotiate with teachers, although at this point the non-teaching staff is little unionized.

All schools have parent advisory committees. But much of this activity is directed toward eliciting support for tax levy or bond issues rather than facilitating participation in decision-making or policy formation. Nonetheless, some of the community involvement, such as the senior citizens' lunch program, is socially useful.

Desegregation and court orders confound the question of cultural pluralism. Assimilation is the basic aim of bilingual programs that are designed to produce fluency in English. In one high school, students may take many subjects in Spanish. Businesses recognize the value of these bilingual graduates but post-secondary institutions do not.

There has been more progress in bringing equal opportunity to hiring practices than in the voluntary desegregation of schools. The number of minority staff has increased as follows:

	1968	1976
Administration	21	71
Principals	4	23
Teachers	361	881
Other	266	1233

Of the 388 administrators in the system, 24.2% are female. Some 35% of the K-3 children are participating in a state-wide Early Childhood Education program.

Since 1972, a Career Education Unit has been responsible for developing a pre-kindergarten through grade 12 career education program. The idea is to infuse career education into the total instructional program.

3. Dallas

The Dallas Independent School District, with a population of 844,000, encompasses 351 square miles. A staff of 13,000 employees (8,000 professional) serve some 144,000 students (40% white) in 180 schools. The grade pattern is K-3, 4-6, 7-8, and 9-12 in accordance with a desegregation court order.

In the late 1960s, a group of progressives led by Marvin Berkley (Vice-President of Texas Instruments) gained control of the nine-member Board of Education. The new Board appointed Nolan Estes, former Associate Commissioner of Education for the U.S., as Superintendent. The new leadership shortly produced a guiding document "The Seven Steps to the Seventies". These areas of concern, which will receive long-range emphasis, were (1) adequate financing, (2) research and development, (3) individualized instruction, (4) communication and community relations, (5) early childhood education, and (6) career education. To implement and monitor the proposed changes, a Management Information System (MIS) was developed. This facilitated the evolution of a Program Planning Budgeting and Evaluation System (PPBES), which was mandated by the Texas legislature for all school districts in 1969. During its first five years the MIS has already been used for a number of studies of management practices. However, the anticipated value will not be fully realized for another 12 years, when the data base is sufficiently mature to permit longitudinal follow-up studies.

One of the "Seven Steps" was early childhood education. Under this umbrella a number of programs were implemented or reinforced, including Head Start, a preschool summer program, kindergarten, and a multi-age primary unit, plus some other experimental programs to develop pre-reading skills.

Another major thrust was career education. The elementary program seeks to develop in each child a clearer self-understanding of abilities, interests, and values. At the grade 8 level there is a federally funded project to develop career education activities for inclusion in the science, social studies, and mathematics curriculum. Occupational education courses are provided at the middle, junior, and senior high school level. The Skyline centre is the most visible evidence of the commitment to career education in Dallas. This vocational magnet school for 3,000 students is a $21 million facility. It covers 13 acres of a 77 acre site.

"The Dallas Independent School District acknowledges that racism is inherent in its operations." It has devised strategies in four areas for the diminution and elimination of racist policies, practices, and procedures which inhibit the development of cultural pluralism. As part of a curriculum/development program, literature on racism and sexism is provided for teachers. Field trips and slide presentations are used to provide staff with information on black dialect, culture, family structure, and brotherhood. Affirmative Action planning committees and Cultural Awareness workshops serve to sensitize staff to ethnic diversity and minority rights. Representatives of a variety of community groups are involved in ongoing staff education and in evaluation of curriculum materials to screen out unacceptable stereotypes.

White flight is a fact. The white enrolment dropped from 94,000 (50%) in 1970/71 to 59,500 (41%) in 1974/75. A court order has created five subdistricts, four of which are to be integrated on a precise timetable. The fifth district contains two small distinct communities, one black and one white, which are to be left alone. Another court order requires the district to bring all categories of staff including teachers and administrators into line with ethnic composition of the student body in 1975 – namely 44% white, 44% black, and 12% other.

There is no teachers' union in Dallas and there is a tacit agreement to deter unionization by paying higher salaries and benefits than any other district in Texas. The 1976 budget was approximately $203 million.

The Dallas Alliance is a major force in education. This consortium of business, church, and community leaders is committed to quality education for the youth of Dallas and to using the school system to promote integration and racial harmony.

Dallas has certainly been able to analyse and acknowledge its problems and to demonstrate a willingness to work diligently toward their solution.

4. Salt Lake City

Salt Lake City School District (population 183,000) has a student enrolment of 26,508, down 40% from a peak of 42,000 in 1958. It is essentially a white, English-speaking, largely Mormon population. The district operates 28 K-6 schools, six 7-8 schools, and four high schools. A seven-member elected board governs the district. While each member represents a precinct, all are elected by a system-wide vote.

The growing suburban area – Davis County, with an enrolment of 35,000 students – had a $46 million budget in 1976. People have moved out as the city was redeveloped commercially and taxes rose.

There is an elected State Board of Education, which exercises many of the powers of the Minister of Education in Ontario.

Some 60% to 70% of the State of Utah is owned by the Federal government. Thus large amounts of Federal money are paid to local municipalities in lieu of taxes. These payments, as well as funds from various Federal programs, are a major source of revenue.

Early childhood education is conducted as a parent education and parent support program. This follows from the belief that 3- and 4-year-old children are better taught at home than in an institutional setting. One form of support is a toy lending library. Parents are encouraged to attend a series of classes where they learn to use one educational toy each week. They take the toy home to use with their children after each class. After the series is completed, parents are able to check out any of the toys. Co-op nursery schools are operated in Davis County. They operate two hours per day for a period of three months. Again the focus in on teaching parents how to work with their own children.

The kindergarten/primary program emphasizes individualization, training and support for teachers, and continuing extensive involvement of parents on committees and as volunteers and paid aides.

District high schools offer child development courses involving practical experiences with small children. A stated goal is to help parents-to-be learn the basic elements of individualized education. High school students assist in a kindergarten phonetic reading program.

A comprehensive career development program begins in the elementary grades. There the students are given an awareness of careers and the value of work and an understanding of the place of work in society.

Students in junior high school are allowed to observe and explore careers and establish vocational interests. Parents, teachers, and counsellors help students establish career goals. These goals are pursued in high school, where students receive the necessary skill training. Frequently, the training will continue beyond secondary school at the Area Vocational Center. Although it is basically a skills training centre, an academic component is available as well. Former dropouts can complete their high school education at this facility.

Minorities constitute a relatively small proportion (14.5%) of the population. However, ESL is provided for Spanish-speaking children of migrant workers, and a bilingual program has been started in a few schools. A rising proportion of minorities, accelerated by whites moving to Davis County, is acknowledged. A staff development program has been established to sensitize teachers and to "repair the damage of former years". There is a commitment to hire minority staff, but recruitment is difficult and positions are disappearing as enrolments decline.

Salt Lake City is a cohesive community with widespread consensus about life, family, and education. It is publicly stated that the Board of Education supports the concept of shared governance. The Superintendent is instructed to administer the schools in cooperation with the employees and patrons of the district. The procedures for shared governance are set forth in detail: e.g., "The President of the [teachers'] Association and the Executive Director shall be entitled to attend and to vote in all of the Superintendent's weekly staff meetings." The membership, procedures for establishment, and functions of the School (staff) Council and the School Community Council are similarly spelled out in Board policy.

However, not all the foreign participants were envious of the happy, quiet state of affairs in Salt Lake City. Mr. Luis Maciver of Dundee, Scotland, was quoted in the Salt Lake *Tribune*: "Education should open people's minds to alternatives and I'm not sure if the purpose of some programs here is to open minds." Maciver felt that the absence of dissension in the school system of this "religion-dominated society" was most unrealistic.

c) Los Angeles Session

From October 24 through October 29, the participants in the IMTEC seminar reassembled in Los Angeles to share their experiences from the four field sites, to exchange management analysis papers, and to attend additional major presentations. The participants were joined by delegations from the field sites, by students and faculty from the School of Education at UCLA, and by some new participants.

The first day of the final week of the seminar was devoted to reciprocal debriefing by those who had visited the four field sites. A few comments are offered here to indicate the tenor of these sessions.

> *"The relationship between social class and school achievement seems to persist regardless of ethnicity. Multiculturalism would bring the same degree of injustice to all ethnic groups."*
>
> *"The Office of Civil Rights closed black and Mexican-American alternative schools – which says you can't have culturally plural schools unless you have your own money."*
>
> *"If class is more important than ethnicity then we can't expect too much from the schools."*
>
> *"Italians in Montreal want English for their kids because they didn't come to North America to become second-class citizens."*
>
> *"At the first moment of economic threat, people reverse from the cooperative to the competitive mode."*
>
> *"Parents often want a more political education for their children than the educators."*
>
> *"Are we not allies of the system that dominates us when we teach that we must proceed ahead and forward and upward, especially when we know we must live with less?"*
>
> *"Forces promoting bilingual education include (1) the size and power of ethnic groups, (2) the courts' interpretation of constitutional rights, and (3) title 7 [Federal] money."*
>
> *"Bilingual/bicultural education is a very serious attempt to allow minority cultures to persist through language preservation."*
>
> *"Bilingual/bicultural programs are often not serious but merely diversionary."*
>
> *"Multicultural thing seems highly political; it gives the illusion of solving problems without enough resources."*

On Monday morning Wilson Riles, the (elected) Superintendent of Public Instruction, addressed the seminar on the development and implementation of the Early Childhood Education Program in California. In his opinion, three problems made change necessary: (1) loss of faith in schools by parents and students (jobs no longer guaranteed); (2) apparent deterioration in the effectiveness of schools; and (3) growth of an adversarial relationship between parents and schools. The school system had to do something to correct the deficiencies and restore public confidence. The change process involved three distinct phases.

1. A new course of action was developed by a high-level task force. Its overall goal was the full development of every child.
2. Development of support for change was accomplished by getting the Early Childhood Education bill through the legislature. The legislation is essentially a master plan to achieve an adult/student ratio of 1 to 10 from kindergarten through grade 3. Riles sacrificed the program for 4-year-olds in order to retain provisions for 5-year-olds.
3. Development of the acceptance of change requires an incentive plan and time for people to opt into the program and for teachers to be trained. Now in its fourth year, the program, which mandates parental involvement, serves 40% of the children in California and is regarded as being successful.

In the evening, Per Dalin discussed the future of IMTEC with the participants. Its current funding by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) ends in 1977.

The keynote speaker for Tuesday was Luverne L. Cunningham, who spoke on "Systematic Approaches to the Management and Governance of Urban Education". His assumption and premises were these:

1. The complexity which surrounds problems (especially contemporary urban problems) is so severe that their solution is dependent upon a level of public learning and public understanding not yet achieved nor at present achievable.
2. The need for public learning (elevation of the citizenry's awareness and understanding of its problems) is itself growing at an exponential rate and exceeds the requirements of the political community as we have known those requirements in the past.
3. The technology for achieving public learning objectives is developed but so far has escaped effective organizational and structural forms.
4. Theory exists (including the incorporation of technology) to apply to the problems of public learning especially as formulated in the "decision seminar" and the "social planetarium".
5. The extension and improvement of social institutions (including education) is dependent upon an emergent, proactive, expanding cadre of lay and professional leaders who command both theoretically sound and practical tools through which to achieve public awareness and public learning.
6. Citizens involved in public problem-solving can enter a new era of public effectiveness or drift into disenchantment and disarray.

From this basis, Cunningham expects to see no improvement in urban educational governance for at least two decades. It is little consolation that the impotence attributed to policy makers and managers extends beyond education.

The Royal Commission was discussed as a form of Third Party Intervention. It was faulted for generating elegant but impractical solutions. While there is citizen involvement, the citizens do not actively participate in the definition of the problem or the generation of alternatives. Unfortunately the wisdom created within a Royal Commission is often lost before the report is implemented.

Third Party Intervention as practised by Cunningham in San Francisco, Detroit, St. Louis, and Columbus is an attempt to release positive catalytic forces in disaster or near-disaster situations. The following strategies are employed: leading, convening, accessing, mediating, linking, proxying, catalysing, reporting, and implementing. These are not discrete activities but aspects of the intervention process. The purpose of the intervention is to enable a complex organization to function where dissension and strife are rampant.

The Decision Seminar, proposed by Harold Lasswell, is a rational form of problem analysis relying on rapid retrieval of data onto screens in an octagonal room. While this cumbersome technique offers some hope for bringing order to a chaotic environment, it does nothing to attack the most serious problem facing the cities. No energy is being applied to the unemployment of young people. In Detroit, more than half the males between 14 and 26 years of age are on the streets, and the figure has exceeded 40% for the past 10 years. While the public must be taught to think in 5-, 10-, and 15-year modules, the elite must be taught to understand unemployment.

Cunningham offered extremely sophisticated solutions to problems of staggering scale and complexity.

The presentation of the Toronto Case Study was well attended on Tuesday afternoon. Mr. Lauri Maki, Director of Education for Region 8, brought greetings from Ontario and explained the context of the case study. Mr. Gordon Cressy, Chairman of the Toronto Board, outlined the process through which the Case Study was developed and introduced a Toronto Board film – *Between Two Worlds* – which focussed on the emotional experiences of immigrant children. After the film, the Director of Education for the City of Toronto, Mr. Duncan Green, stated the problems facing that board in the areas of governance, finance, and multiculturalism and the directions in which solutions are being sought. He then introduced the teams, who led small-group discussion on the following seven themes:

- Administration Centralization/Decentralization
- Curriculum Development
- Finance: Metro Budget Formula Review Process
- In-School Implementation of Policy
- Federal/Provincial/Local Relations
- Research
- New Canadianism or Multiculturalism?

Following a lively 1¼-hour discussion in small groups, participants reassembled for general comments and questions. Some Americans suggested that the Toronto efforts in multiculturalism were tenuous and minimal in comparison with the U.S. federally sponsored, court ordered bilingual/bicultural program. Others expressed amazement at the financial sharing characteristic of the Metro structure and the apparent security of educational funding in Ontario. Comments from the Europeans were complimentary about our approach to problem analysis and policy development and sympathetic to our confusion about national and provincial goals and local autonomy. The dialogue continued during a reception which followed.

The highlight of Wednesday was a lecture, "Americanization: A Perspective", delivered by Lawrence Cremin, President of Teachers College, Columbia University. Dr. Cremin was presenting the Sir John Adams lecture to the UCLA Graduate School of Education, and the IMTEC seminar participants were invited to attend. In the midst of current discussions about cultural pluralism, it was interesting to be reminded that non-English-language school systems flourished in several parts of the U.S. in earlier times. Despite the vigour of some of these systems, especially the German, all eventually died as their supporting communities were assimilated into the American society.

On Thursday morning, John Goodlad, Dean of the Graduate School of Education, addressed the seminar. Discarding a 40-page prepared text, he reviewed the changes in his own thinking over the past 15 years.

1. He knows of no single innovation that will consistently affect the performance of students.
2. It does not then follow that nothing makes a difference.
3. He infers from his experience that clusters of things (variables) affect student achievement.

The likelihood of an outside agent being able to orchestrate a host of related variables is low. The weakest link in curriculum development is the culture of the school. The school must reach out for resources rather than the reverse. A rational model of change falsely assumes that humans and schools are goal-oriented. Rather they are experience- and satisfaction-oriented. In the past the developers and the targets of innovation lived in different cultures. In the school culture there was no structure by which the staff could make decisions about curriculum or about what or how to change. As people start to grow they find they need new skills. It is necessary to create an infrastructure whose purpose is to support those people in schools who wish to change. Furthermore, the discrepancy between the culture of teachers and that of the school communities makes teachers defensive. Goodlad was challenged by Mr. Gaarder, who claimed that the people in charge will always oppose serious change. In his opinion, only serious insurrection or invasion can be expected to yield serious change.

Later in the day Robin Farquhar, formerly of OISE and currently Dean of Education at the University of Saskatchewan, commented on Management/Governance and Finance in the U.S. He noted eight ironies in the current American approach to educational change.

1. Urban systems have no money for change and have to rely on external funding of innovative programs. These falter when the funding dries up because the local systems are unable to reallocate resources for their continued support.
2. Community involvement is being mandated for specially funded Federal and State programs. But these are narrowly defined, and thus deflect public attention and energy from fundamental issues.
3. Decentralization is a response to the inability to resolve system-wide conflict. However, this politicizes the schools and raises the level of conflict within local communities.
4. Declining enrolments limit opportunities for advancement or reward. Greater participation in decision-making might provide an alternative incentive. However, the shortage of funds and general threat to job security make staff reluctant to get involved.
5. Decentralization is designed to increase the autonomy of the school. However, decentralization to a regional or district level adds another layer of surveillance and increases the power of central office to monitor activities in the schools and enforce central policies.
6. The immense complex problems facing cities demand fundamental re-examination. However, the severity of the problems is such that all available time and energy is directed to short-term expedient solutions.
7. Organizational development was an attempt to involve staff in problem-solving. It requires a climate of trust to be effective, but that climate was seldom present. Thus in many cases OD served only to increase the level of militancy and suspicion.

8. Management training contains strong self-defeating mechanisms. University programs in management education and educational development are designed to train junior administrators. They may only incapacitate people for the top jobs.

Farquhar concluded by saying that serendipity may account for as much variance as anything else. Change may happen when a constellation of factors assumes a particular pattern as in Dallas or Toronto or Coventry.

It was suggested that the so-called ironies may be only necessary conflicts, which will continue. The error may lie in expecting too broad or deep a consensus.

On Thursday afternoon, Walo Hutmacher, Director of Research for the Department of Public Instruction in Geneva, Switzerland, made a presentation on Cultural Pluralism. In his opinion, equal educational opportunity cannot happen, because school evaluates more than it teaches. Until now, school has reconciled people to their economic destiny, but when jobs are not available to graduates, insurrection becomes possible.

The question of equal educational opportunity is the wrong question when the non-school (larger) part of society is not equal and is not being made more equal. Education serves as the major legitimating factor for differences in what people earn. In Geneva, 33% of the high school population are in the college-bound stream, but 90% of the children of the upper class are in that stream. Schools cannot teach everybody's culture; they are not designed to make one social class familiar with other classes. Schools are not participatory structures; the child is the object of the process.

In schools, little attention is paid to the changes that just happen, such as minorities becoming majorities within 10 or 15 years. The problems of New York were foreseeable but not foreseen, because the people looked only to their immediate problems and focussed on planned change. But change does not occur on the educationists' timetable. A dialogue is needed to ensure that all relevant factors are taken into account.

Gerald Bernbaum of the School of Education, University of Leicester, made similar observations during his presentation. Most occupations do not provide careers, and very few children of the working class or the poor take up occupations that provide careers. These occupations (that provide careers) can be distinguished from skilled and unskilled jobs in the following ways:

1. There is a higher degree of autonomy over the work itself – fewer orders are received.
2. There is much greater control in the work situation regarding hours and other conditions of work.

3. The lifetime benefits to those who have careers are much greater if all the benefits are taken into account.
4. The occupational role (for those who have careers) penetrates all other roles – it makes you a somebody.
5. Over time, the amount of money and status increase for those without careers, only the problems increase as they get older.

The perpetuation of privilege for those with careers results from their monopolistic position, not from their relative contribution to the society. The inflation of educational requirements for entry into careers protects the weaker children of the upper class. It is exceptionally difficult for an individual to generate opportunity by a personal act of will. That people are willing to change is apparent in the migration of people and in their willingness to consider ideas such as cultural pluralism. Bernbaum sees the transition of youth to work as one of individual economic survival. It is not (despite career education) any sort of collective action toward the solution of basic problems. In closing, he observed that people should be very hesitant to go into classrooms and criticize teachers as long as there is no satisfactory theory of teaching and learning.

Michael Fullan of OISE made a presentation during the seminar concerning the implementation of innovations. He believes that the unlearning and relearning of roles is at the heart of most failures to implement innovations. While some innovations may be legislated and take effect quickly, others such as the alteration of male/female ratios among staff take a long time. The more people are committed to the content of a change, the more likely they are to be unable to implement that change. This is because the change must be modified during implementation by those who will be using it. People committed to a specific form of change are seldom willing to accept the modifications needed for implementation. The Rand study showed that change happened only when people were involved in the process of implementation.

Donald Thomas, Superintendent of Schools in Salt Lake City, made a presentation on declining enrolments. Enrolments in that district have declined from 43,000 to 25,000, and another 11% decline is projected. People are likely to accept school closure so long as they have a chance to participate in the decision-making process. The board pledged that no discussions of closure would be held in private and kept that promise. To review the situation and develop a plan, the schools nominated 70 people, 25 of whom were selected to form a committee. A monthly newsletter was mailed to 150 opinion-makers who were identified by a university researcher. An agreement was made with teachers that no one would be laid off because of declining enrolment. This year, 70 surplus teachers were treated as follows: 40 took early retirement with a $10 thousand bonus, 12 were assisted to find positions in nearby districts, 6 were retained for work in elementary schools, 10 are being carried as permanent substitutes, and the remaining two found positions through attrition within the system.

The decline is partly attributable to a low birth rate but also to the fact that young families move to the suburbs. The district loses 20% of the 4-year-olds before they start kindergarten. There is no low-cost or subsidized housing in the city.

Ten new schools are now being built to replace obsolete facilities and to help revitalize the city. The bond issue passed because the people were convinced that the school system is doing a responsible job. The new schools are being built for enrolments of 500, replacing schools designed for 900.

The school closures were justified in terms of the quality of service, e.g., class size, library, classes for gifted. The money saved by the closures was used to maintain the previous level of service. Plans were developed to implement a range of closure alternatives immediately. The morning after the final meeting, workmen began to prepare for closure and the schools were closed within a week (to prevent any opposition from developing).

The plan finally adopted after extensive public hearings by the committee (attended by board members as observers) involved closing three intermediate schools and one elementary school, placing the grade 9s in the high schools (to protect them from closure), and placing the grade 7 and 8 classes in elementary schools. The estimated saving for each school closed is $100 thousand. The Mormon Church purchased the surplus sites and schools. Thomas's advice may be summarized in three points.

1. Treat school closure as a people problem; attend to staff morale first.
2. Treat closure as a public policy discussion; have integrity, be open.
3. If you're going to close anything, close intermediate schools.

One of the final sessions was a panel in which the Superintendents (Directors) of Education from the cities of Toronto, Oslo, and Coventry shared their concerns and aspirations with the participants.

Duncan Green of Toronto noted a number of paradoxes facing that system. Some of these are preparation of people for jobs that do not yet exist, preparation of people for a world we don't know, thirty TV channels (half American), and poor connections with other educational institutions, business, labour, Ministry of Education, and the federal government. He sees the first task as strengthening existing alliances and forging new ones with those sectors. The second task involves the reconciliation of the present separation of city problems from provincial or national concerns.

Helge Sieversen of Oslo noted that there was only one state-sponsored radio and TV station in Norway. Still he felt that Oslo has much in common with U.S. cities. His main point was that some fundamental democratic ideas (national interests) must prevail over local autonomy.

Robert Aitken of Coventry is concerned about increasing crime rates, especially among the youth of his city. He referred to the ecological time bomb on the planet and the social time bomb of ugly cities. He noted that we are only twenty generations from Columbus and only two generations from crossing the Atlantic by air. He is searching for ways to support local family life in the present turmoil.

IMPLICATIONS FROM THE IMTEC SEMINAR FOR EDUCATION IN ONTARIO

In the foregoing sections, the seminar was described from a factual perspective. However, much of the value of participating in an international seminar arises from the inferences and comparisons that can be drawn about the situation at home. Such opinions and assessments are clearly subjective. No doubt other participants would make other observations or come to somewhat different conclusions. Nevertheless, it seems appropriate to offer some implications for Ontario. These are offered as thoughtful reflections stimulated by the seminar experience rather than as a set of tightly reasoned conclusions. Hopefully, they will contribute to the ongoing discussion surrounding these themes.

a) Multiculturalism or Cultural Pluralism

This fundamental issue is as important to the members of the host culture as it is to immigrants. Efforts to assist children to acquire English and also to retain their mother tongue and culture are justifiable on both practical and humanitarian grounds. The question of assimilation will not be resolved within the school, although schools can be made more neutral on this issue, as they have become on religion. The preservation of cultural traditions is always confounded by the equally fundamental questions concerning the distribution of money, power, status, and jobs. It seems inevitable that the strains arising from assimilation and/or cultural pluralism will be associated with other ongoing social struggles. The public should expect tensions from such sources to persist.

A number of smaller European countries buy educational materials from the countries of origin of the immigrants, thus ensuring authenticity and saving the cost of developing their own. The Americans are developing their own materials, which are "cleansed of political ideology".

Sensitizing school staff to new immigrants is probably accomplished best by intervisitation with schools in the country of origin. Such exchanges could operate at several levels – e.g., a week, a month, a full year for a few. The possibility of extending student exchange programs should also be considered.

b) Management and Governance

Educational governance structures in Ontario seem to be working reasonably well. It may be desirable to give teachers and parents a greater role in management to prevent any further polarization or their isolation from each other. The system of electing trustees directly from a geographic area seems advantageous, as does the close working relationship between elected and appointed officials. Steps should be taken to strengthen the connections between education and both municipal and senior levels of government. Education is an essential social service; it should not be isolated from other parallel services or from national goals or policies.

c) Finance

Relative to other jurisdictions the funding of education in Ontario seems generous and is apparently secure. The concept of pooling tax assessment across rich and poor areas is commendable. The financial plights of Boston and New York provide stark examples of the refusal to share resources among neighbouring municipalities. However, the property tax may not be a stable vehicle for financing education as the population ages and proportionately fewer people have a direct stake in the schools.

The education of immigrant children is supported by the federal government in other countries.

d) Transition to Work

There is a considerable hiatus between schooling and work in all the industrialized countries represented at the seminar. However, those nations with full employment and highly developed adult education and retraining programs were least distressed. The participants and speakers from the U.S. and the U.K. were particularly concerned about chronic unemployment of young people. Several speakers from the U.S. attributed public disaffection with education to unemployment among school and college graduates. The American emphasis on career education is especially ironic. To impress upon children from kindergarten to grade 12 the importance and value of paid work and career preparation, when a high proportion will never work, seems irresponsible.

Somehow we must reconcile the education that is essential for productivity with the education that is equally essential for personal development and fulfilment. Such a reconciliation will necessitate acceptance of the fact that our material standard of living cannot be expected to improve indefinitely. Personal satisfaction derived from art, music, hiking, crafts must come to be valued over more and bigger cars and homes.

To ensure that all citizens have opportunities for productive (paid) work, the expectation of continuous, full-time employment from school leaving must also be modified. A shorter work week, increased part-time and intermittent employment, and expanded adult education/training opportunities can increase the proportion of the population which is employed. It would also increase the proportion of the population able to engage in personally rewarding (non-paid) activities, thus reducing the present excessive emphasis on full-time employment as the only acceptable adult role model.

e) Early Childhood Education

The importance of the early years to the ultimate development of humans is well established. A good beginning requires proper nutrition, sensory stimulation, and a supportive social situation. While early childhood education seems to have floundered in the U.S., it seems to be flourishing in some of the European countries.

Given the availability of space in Ontario schools, the significance of the early years to subsequent academic performance, the general acceptance of kindergarten programs, and currently reduced opportunities for employment in teaching, universal junior kindergartens (4-year-olds) should be considered. Simultaneously, it may be advisable to consider accommodating nursery schools and day care centres within the public schools.

f) Change Process in Urban School Systems

Involvement of people in the change process is crucial. The difficulty comes in determining which change efforts to support. Many innovations simply divert money and attention from fundamental problems. While these may serve to build morale and to promote individual careers, they do little to make education on the whole more effective.

Extension or expansion of established programs is invariably in competition with the initiation of new programs. Thus, the very existence of the traditional impedes investment in the new. There is presently no secured or guaranteed funding for innovative programs; they remain "frills" for the majority. In an era of financial retrenchment these "add-ons" to the budget are particularly vulnerable. But some significant changes might come from economic structural changes.

There may be some opportunity for general gains from matching teachers and students on the basis of compatibility and from terminating relationships by consent rather than arbitrarily at year end. Another area of potential gain lies in reexamining timetables. Perhaps outdoor education schools, summer music camps, and French immersion programs are models with wider applicability. It may also be possible and desirable to allow children and youth to study intensively when they show interest. A more educated person could well result from a sequence of concerted efforts and pauses rather than 12 to 14 years of "balanced curriculum".

g) Curriculum

The absence of national educational goals and a visible federal presence in elementary and secondary education is an embarrassment at least, and perhaps an absurdity. The current discussion about the future of the country is being conducted by people educated in provincially autonomous systems. While local autonomy is a supreme ideal to many people, it could ultimately destroy the nation. In contrast, Europeans remain intensely interested and involved in their local schools within national or state systems. It seems that national unity is an essential, legitimate educational goal and that the federal government should be significantly and visibly involved in setting other educational goals.

h) Community Involvement

The term "community involvement" is becoming suspect because of the range of situations and relationships it is used to designate. Many now seldom use the term without a qualifying "real" or "meaningful". In a time of uncertainty and change it is important that people understand their institutions and participate in their evolution. It is equally important that institutions such as school boards remain responsive to their clients and sensitive to their aspirations and frustrations. Trust and integrity may be elusive concepts, but they remain crucial elements of productive involvement of the community in the educational system. Community involvement is needed at the system level as well as in the neighbourhood school. Current attempts to involve the public in problem definition, policy formulation, and decision-making are encouraging. But a lot of patience, commitment, and creativity is still required.

i) Return to Basics and Testing

There is no doubt that testing programs shift emphasis in schools to the tested subjects. Extreme emphasis on basics makes school dull and turns kids off. Often, testing programs call attention to technique and style and away from substance. Testing programs also set a public agenda, invite invidious comparisons, and make teachers and administrators defensive.

It is possible to evaluate programs and to provide useful feedback to parents, teachers, and supervisors without many of the disadvantages of conventional testing programs. Appropriate tests which reflect the curriculum should yield sufficient data from representative samples of classes. Evaluation is essential, but it should not be permitted to distort the educational process or make the curriculum inflexible.

j) Communication with the Public

More attention should be paid to providing services to the non-parent public in the schools. Opportunities for the general public to be in schools, meet teachers, and see classes in action should be maximized. An informed public is one that has firsthand knowledge. A sympathetic public is one that is getting something of personal value from the school system.

k) Teachers and Teacher Training

Extended internship for beginning teachers should improve quality and help smooth the decreasing demand for new teachers. The expertise of staffs in teacher training institutions should be made available to the schools. Retraining for experienced teachers should become a priority as the teaching force ages and opportunities for promotion diminish.

l) Declining Enrolments

Empty classrooms and rising per pupil costs are the most apparent consequences of declining enrolments. But staff morale and community attitudes toward the school board are more significant and far reaching. Insecurity and fear arising from rumours of school closure or staff lay-offs can be quite destructive. The protection of staff and of community must be priority considerations as organizational structures and physical facilities are adjusted for lower enrolments.

Most large boards in Ontario will find it easier to cope with enrolment decline than the numerous smaller boards in the U.S. The vacant space in schools can be used to serve community needs. Reduced enrolments also provide an opportunity to review established procedures and rethink existing organizational arrangements. More effective, streamlined school systems can result from a careful, considerate approach to declining enrolments.

m) Information Systems

Most large urban school systems are simultaneously overloaded and short of information. Generally, the existing information is not what decision-makers require, because it is either out of date or not directly pertinent. Information is costly to generate, store, and retrieve. Despite electronic technology, much human energy is still required to analyse and interpret data for policy formulation, evaluation, and decision-making.

While some existing management information systems were premature or overly sophisticated, others are proving to be useful. It seems likely that the demand for up-to-date, comprehensive, objective, readily available data will grow. Increased efforts to develop effective management information systems are indicated.

PART IV

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDY

A Description of Education in Toronto

Toronto, the capital of the Province of Ontario, is situated on the north shore of Lake Ontario; it is about midway between Detroit and the Canadian capital of Ottawa. With a population of 685,333, Toronto constitutes the central city of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto (population 2,267,300). As the financial and industrial centre of Canada, Toronto has a long record of stable, responsible government. The present prosperity and optimistic outlook result in large part from continuous strong immigration since World War II.

Under the British North America Act – Canada's constitutional basis – the provinces are responsible for education. There is no national office or department of education, although the federal government does provide financial support for post-secondary education, for vocational and technical training, and for French/English bilingual programs.

In the Province of Ontario, there are two kinds of tax-supported school boards. The public boards operate schools from kindergarten through grade 13, which are open to all residents. The separate (Roman Catholic) boards operate schools through grade 10, which are open to Roman Catholics who choose to direct their property taxes to that system and to non-Catholics who wish to pay fees. About half of the Roman Catholics support the separate schools.

Across Ontario, the provincial government pays about 60% of the cost of elementary and secondary education. Most of the remainder is raised from local property tax levies. The level of provincial support varies according to the wealth of the local municipality, from approximately 95% in some communities to approximately 30% in the case of Metropolitan Toronto. The tax rate within the Metropolitan area is essentially the same between municipalities regardless of the assessment base.

The Ontario Ministry of Education issues curriculum guidelines and controls the training and certification of teachers. It is the responsibility of each local school system to adapt the curriculum guidelines to its own situation and to supervise teachers. There are no provincial inspectors for curriculum or teachers; since 1967 there has been no provincial examination system.

In Metropolitan Toronto, there is a two-level system of governance for both the municipality and the public schools. While the municipal government collects realty taxes for the schools, it has no direct fiscal or operational control. Taxpayers' endorsation of capital and current budgets is exclusively through their elected representatives. An upper-level Metropolitan Toronto School Board has financial control over six Area Boards including the Board of Education for the City of Toronto. Each of the Area Boards is governed by elected trustees, some of whom also serve as trustees on the upper-level School Board. Representatives of Separate School ratepayers also sit on both Area Boards and the Metropolitan Toronto School Board. They speak and vote only on matters which are not exclusively concerned with the public (elementary) schools.

The Toronto Board of Education operates 114 elementary schools with 60,987 students and 3,100 teachers, including special education. Secondary education is provided for 35,790 students by 2,302 teachers in 31 schools. The Board employs some 3,000 non-teaching employees. The 1976 budget was $167,610,929, of which 80% was allocated for payroll. The land owned by the Board is conservatively valued at $272,823,705, while the replacement value of the buildings is estimated to be approximately $465,710,332.

In 1975, 30% of the school population were born outside of Canada and 46% had a language other than English as their mother tongue. Of the foreign-born students, almost 20% came from Portugal and approximately 10% from each of Italy, China, Jamaica, Greece. About 5% came from England and another 5% from Trinidad and Tobago. About 3% came from each of Guyana, the United States, India, and Yugoslavia. The remaining 18% came from more than 60 other countries around the planet.

While the city is rich in commercial assessment and per capita incomes are high, most students in the school system do not come from affluent homes. More than 42% come from homes where the head is employed in jobs such as labourer or factory worker. Another 10% come from homes where the head was not employed.

Almost 14.3% of Toronto students live in mother-only homes. Another 1.9% live in father-only homes, and 2.2% live in homes where neither parent is present.

These special populations are not spread evenly over the city. The high-income professional families live mainly in one area. Practically the only foreign-born students in that area come from the United States or Great Britain. Students from Portugal are more frequently found in one district, those from Greece in another, those from China in still another. In one secondary school, 41% of students have Italian as their mother tongue; some elementary schools have the following proportions of students: 60% Portuguese, 85% Chinese, 47% Greek. But many schools are polyglot. In the average Toronto school there will be three language groups other than English, each represented by at least 25 students.

Process by Which the Case Study Was Developed

Over the last decade Toronto has made numerous representations to senior levels of government for additional financial support for educating New Canadians. During the past several years several work groups or task forces have generated many documents and reports about vocational schools, administrative decentralization, and multiculturalism. As a result of these thrusts, a considerable volume of technical data has been produced as well as numerous statements of goals and directions.

In the fall of 1975, Dr. Per Dalin of IMTEC approached the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Toronto Board of Education regarding participation in the seminar being planned on the theme "Managing Change in Urban Education". For a variety of reasons, including severe fiscal restraint, Toronto has had a low level of participation in international conferences for a number of years. Continued isolation seemed inappropriate in light of the potential benefits of interacting with others facing similar problems. It was eventually agreed that the Toronto Board under the sponsorship of the Ontario Ministry of Education would develop a case study and participate in the IMTEC seminar. Both parties agreed that it was worthwhile to consolidate existing documentation into a coherent statement of where the system had been and where it was proposing to go concerning both governance and multiculturalism. Moreover, the Toronto Board judged the process of preparing the case study to be a valuable opportunity for self-evaluation at a critical stage in its own evolution. Also, the chance to gather reaction to current policies at an early stage of implementation from persons with experience in other large urban centres was particularly attractive.

After the research contract was signed, an Advisory Committee was struck to work with the Principal Investigator in the development of the case study. This committee included representatives from the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education as well as elected officials, administrators, school principals, and other staff of the Toronto Board with relevant experience or expertise.

Early discussions concerned the format of the report and whether the two themes of governance/finance and multiculturalism should be treated independently or in some integrated fashion. There was also extended debate about the incremental costs of educating immigrant children and about ways of accounting for the generally lower educational performance of immigrant children. However, it was readily agreed that existing statistics and documentation were not a sufficient base on which to build the case. In-depth interviews with key people inside and outside the education system were deemed essential to ensure that the study reflected the current situation and to permit an examination of ongoing change processes. The Advisory Committee participated in the collection of relevant data and documentation, the development of the questionnaire and interview schedule, and the identification of persons for interviews. They also provided critical reaction and suggestions as the case study took shape.

The Case Study

It was agreed that facts and figures alone tell an incomplete story. Without some history, some human emotion, some humour, a case study is often boring or downright dull. To those of us who have lived and worked in Toronto for one or several decades, the important thing about the place is the spirit. While this air or flavour is readily experienced, it is difficult to communicate in academic style. Although an academic style might be more "respectable", it was set aside in favour of an informal, narrative account of the Toronto school system and its current efforts in governance and multiculturalism. A narrative account is easier to read and tells a more complete story, but it is inevitably longer. The extra length was judged to be an acceptable cost for communicating a comprehensive, understandable picture of our system.

Part I of the study tells the story of the Toronto system through the eyes and lips of 91-year-old Ida Siegel. Ida came to Toronto in 1893, when she was 9 years old. She knows the Toronto schools as an immigrant student, as a trustee in the 1930s, as a mother of six children, and for the past eight years as a volunteer school aide. This beautiful person relates the harsh words and bad experiences without bitterness. But she's happy about the changes she's seen and helped bring about. Despite the persistence of prejudice and misunderstanding, Ida is proud to be a Canadian and optimistic about the future.

Part II of the study provides a more structured background for Ida Siegel's story. It tells some of the historical development of Canada, its French origins, and its unique governmental structures. The response of the Toronto Board to successive waves of immigration is outlined in some detail. Recent issues are discussed in the context of fiscal restraint and the complicated relationships at work within the two-level Metropolitan structure. Considerable attention is given to the emergence of a new breed of trustee and administrator over the past few years. These newcomers have rejected conventional role definitions and generated alternate styles of policy formation, decision-making, and accountability. While these arrangements may not be particularly efficient, they are serving to restore a degree of control to the trustees and the community and to reorient the system to serve a multicultural population.

Part III of the study comes to grips with the forces at work in making people aware of multiculturalism. Specific programs geared to ease transition to English and to maintain or preserve other cultures are described.

One of these is a kindergarten program in which Italian is used as the language of instruction while the children are learning English. Another type of program involves the provision of culture/language classes in Chinese and Greek at several schools. The classes are not compulsory, but most children participate, including some anglophones. Other special programs are designed to boost the academic performance of English-speaking students from the West Indies in specific skills or subjects. The beginning efforts of the Board to improve its program for native Indian children are also noted.

The origins and operation of the Work Group on Multiculturalism are discussed in Part IV. This Work Group of trustees and staff carried out an in-depth investigation of issues relating to education in a culturally plural society and the extent to which the system was meeting the needs of immigrant children. Repeated consultation with all (often conflicting) vested interests resulted in a final report with 99 specific recommendations.

One set of recommendations was designed to strengthen the teaching of English as a second language or second dialect and to extend opportunities for subject upgrading. The goal is to bring new immigrants into full participation as quickly as possible without submerging or violating their own cultural consciousness.

A second set of recommendations promotes the maintenance of original languages and cultures through expansion of bilingual/bicultural programs and provision of third-language (i.e., other than English or French) credit programs in secondary schools. A series of specific recommendations was also made which would result in a general reorientation of the curriculum to reflect the multicultural reality of the city and the nation.

The selection and preparation of staff to ensure sensitivity to cultural differences was the focus of a third set of recommendations. These were directed to counteract racism, both overt and subtle, through pre-service and in-service training and specific staffing policies.

School/community relations were dealt with in a fourth set of recommendations. Some of these were directed to improving communication by making interpretation and translation services more readily available. Others were concerned with improvements to the guidance function generally and placement in particular.

The fifth and final set of recommendations was directed to the role and responsibilities of senior governments. A number of these were requests for additional financial support for Board programs, while others were requests for other agencies to provide services directly.

The process of implementation both during the inquiry and currently is described as well. This section concludes with a consideration of the question of costs. Both the incremental costs of teaching English to New Canadians and the estimated costs of implementing the recommendations of the multiculturalism report are set forth and discussed.

In Part V the current policies and programs of the Board are outlined.

In Part VI interviews with some 76 persons in key positions inside the school system and in the community are analysed. These in-depth interviews focussed on people's interpretation of multiculturalism and their perceptions of the Board's multicultural policy and major factors supporting or inhibiting its implementation. Relationships between perceptions and personal values are apparent in many of the quotations. The larger forces operating in support of and in opposition to change include clarity of goals, attitudes and skills of various groups, resources, multiplicity of demands, and strategies and tactics. Each of these factors is considered in a general discussion about the changes currently in process.

There are a number of appendices, including a bibliography, a copy of the questionnaire and interview schedule, and a statistical/cost package.

Presentation at the Seminar

Knowing that the participants to the IMTEC seminar would not have read the full case study prior to its presentation, and realizing that learning is more likely to take place through face-to-face interaction than through lectures, we decided to allow plenty of time for dialogue in small groups. A team of persons from the Toronto area was present at the final Convocation in Los Angeles to assist in the presentation. It was intended first to outline the case study briefly to the whole group and then break into groups where specialists in curriculum, finance, school administration, etc. could discuss Toronto's experience with interested participants. Upon reconvening, a short film, by a teacher and students in the Toronto system, was shown. Remaining time was used to gather reaction to Toronto's efforts and aspirations from the participants.

The case study was available for distribution at the presentation. The Toronto representatives remained available for continued informal discussions throughout the remainder of the seminar. Participants who wanted to extend their seminar by visiting Toronto en route home were made welcome.

APPENDIX A

A Look at the Toronto School System in Terms of Governance and Multiculturalism

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the Government of Canada as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all.

Statement by Pierre Trudeau,
Prime Minister of Canada,
in the House of Commons,
October 8, 1971.

(Quoted at the beginning of the Draft Report of the Work Group on Multicultural Programs, Toronto Board of Eduation, May 20, 1975.)

PREFACE

The first six parts of this case study are written from the point of view of the people involved in managing change in the Toronto school board environment. They therefore represent one version of what is occurring in matters of governance and multiculturalism. Alternative versions — more simplified or more detailed or more rigorously structured — could have been written and might be equally valid. Part VII is an analysis of the 78 interviews done in connection with the study.

The distinctive form of this case study reflects the creative efforts of Bob Ferguson. His acceptance of the challenge to produce the study on a short time line was an inspiration to the rest of the team. His dedication and hard work made it happen on schedule.

One of our concerns in building this study was to tell the story, "warts and all", so that we might better understand our own situation and share our frustrations and our aspirations with others. While the specifics of the issues may differ, we believe that the passions and strategies involved in coping with change are universal.

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the Toronto Board of Education for the IMTEC/OECD United
States bicentennial seminar on Managing Change in Education,
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NO PARTS OF THIS CASE STUDY MAY BE REPRODUCED
WITHOUT PERMISSION FROM THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
FOR THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

PART I

THE BEST IS YET TO BE

Ida Siegel came to Toronto when she was nine years old. The year was 1893 and Toronto was solidly British — Protestant in religion, Victorian in outlook, and commercial in its interest. The place was booming with new enterprises, the population was approaching 200,000 and the public school system was nearly half a century old.

Today Ida Siegel, a vital 92 year-old, still remembers that system and the school she went to as an impressionable young girl. She vividly recalls turn-of-the-century Toronto and the steady stream of immigrants from places like Russia, Italy, Greece, Macedonia, and China.

In those days Canada had an aggressive immigration policy aimed at attracting settlers from Great Britain and the United States. But not enough of them came and the government sought out "the stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat" from continental Europe to settle the west, take up cheap farmlands, and lay the agricultural base for the Canadian economy. With these "sheepskin coats" came thousands of craftsmen, merchants, and men of learning, who stayed in the cities of eastern Canada, many of them in Toronto.

Ida Siegel's father had gone first to the United States, in the early 1880's. Like other young Jews from Eastern Europe he had fled the pogroms, the military service that could draft a man for 25 years, and the increasing taxes and restrictions on Jews. With his wife and two young sons he went to Pittsburgh to be with relatives and friends from the old country. Ida was born there and in 1893 the family moved on to Toronto.

Ida lived in the inner city — "the Ward" it was called in those days — with its mix of languages and cultures, though the waspish mainstream of Toronto life washed around them without taking them in. The schools put a heavy emphasis on patriotism, Christianity, and cleanliness — the Queen, the Bible, and clean fingernails were the three great symbols of the time. Ida remembers that "certain women who were cranks insisted on children bringing new testaments to school."

One day she and some classmates were to be strapped for not having their Bibles the day before, but her father — "a genteel, educated man, a grammarian" — went to the school and persuaded the teacher not to strap the children. As for Christian prayers and readings Ida says, "If my father had really understood, he would have said, 'Go to it! After all, Jesus was a Jew and the Lord's Prayer is based on the rabbinical tradition.' "

By the time Ida was married and starting to raise a family, immigrants were flooding into Toronto. The feeling against them showed itself in such overt acts as boys throwing stones at rag-men with cries of "Sheeny, Sheeny," or chasing fruit pedlars with shouts of "Dago, Dago, Dago." It also showed itself in a more restrained but culturally brutal form in the efforts of schools, community workers, and Protestant missions to convert and Canadianize the children. Adult foreigners too set in their ways were seen as a lost cause, but the children were regarded as capable of salvation and assimilation.

To offset the assimilation policy of the Board of Education Ida Siegel and other immigrant women set up their own special classes to help children keep the language and culture of their parents. Ida's class met Saturday afternoon in Hester How School, one group discussing things in Yiddish and another in Italian. But the teachers in the school (who were running special classes in English for the children) and the missionaries across the street were appalled at what was happening. And one day Ida found herself accused in the daily press of "teaching Bolshevism in Hester How School". She was as frightened as she was astonished at the charge. She spoke to the chairman of the Toronto Board of Education and he arranged a hearing with trustees, teachers, and parents. Ida was exonerated but, angry and shaken by her experience, she stopped the Saturday classes. She never, however, stopped believing in the importance of the immigrant child's first language and culture.

Toronto The Good

Through the years of World War I and the 1920's Ida was busy raising a family of six children and looking after her parents. In the 20's immigrants continued coming into the city and the population passed the half-million mark. But Toronto was still a city outwardly and unabashedly British. The 12th of July — Orangeman's Day — was a big day with

King Billy on his white horse leading a parade to celebrate a Protestant victory at the Battle of the Boyne more than two hundred years before.

Sunday was the Lord's Day in Toronto — the morning a time for formal worship in the family pew (preferably an Anglican, Methodist, or Presbyterian one), and the afternoon a time for rest in the City of Churches — a time when, it was said, you could shoot a cannon down the main street and not hit anybody. One can understand the old saying, "No one should visit Toronto for the first time."

Behind this facade there were, of course, all the excesses of the Jazz Age — the Flappers, the Charleston, the bathtub gin, the craze for sports, — but the social and civic leaders of the Queen City of Toronto would hardly admit that such things existed — just as they wouldn't acknowledge the non-British cultures that were surviving in many parts of the city. Yet thousands of Italians, Greeks, Macedonians, Chinese, Jews, and others were surviving and prospering. Submerged they might be but they kept alive their language and many of the traditions of their homeland.

In 1931 Ida Siegel was elected as a trustee to the Toronto Board of Education and she served as a trustee for five years. She had much support from non-Jewish groups but she was always aware of her Jewishness. "A non-Jew could do anything," she says, "but a Jew had to be careful. Yet I wasn't on the Board *just* to be careful, but to be Jewish." She did much to help Jewish young people who wanted to be teachers in a city where the "quota" was one percent. She also encouraged immigrant groups to teach their own language to their children, and she was an outspoken opponent of cadet training which many then thought of as a way to make immigrant children more patriotic to their new country.

In the mid-thirties, in the depths of the Great Depression one of her daughters died, her mother was sick, and her husband lost his job, then was forced to take work at $10 a week. The responsibility of being an active trustee was too much for Ida Siegel and she resigned from the Board.

It was a hard time for nearly everyone in Toronto, as elsewhere in North America. Immigration had slowed to a trickle, but immigrants already here — even those who were citizens — were accused of providing cheap labour and taking jobs away from Canadians.

With the coming of World War II jobs were soon plentiful, but in the growing patriotic fervour of the time, "foreigners" were more suspect than ever. Being born in this country was not enough to protect you from racial slurs and public humiliation. Even looking non-British or non-North American was enough to bring trouble on your head. In the midst of the war, Ida Siegel recalls a day when she felt the sting of anti-semitism:

"One afternoon I was riding in the middle of a crowded street car and a man at the front of the car noticed a bearded man at the back. And he called out so all could hear him: 'If there's anybody here with a gun, I'd like to shoot that dirty Jew.' and I called back to him, 'I'm a Jew too. And I'm sorry I haven't got that gun, but my sons have it, fighting for Canada.' And the rest of the people on the street car got after him and he got out at the next stop. Oh, I was so upset, I was sick, we'd come through the Depression, all our money was gone, I was a pacifist, and my two boys were in the army, and that dirty skunk to get up and say a thing like that."

Boom Town Toronto

In the late 1940's — after a 15-year break because of the Depression and the War — immigrants again began to flood into Toronto. They came from Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, from the "displaced persons" camps of Europe, and later from Greece, Portugal, and China. And they were joined by thousands of Canadians from small-town Ontario and from the other provinces.

Ida Siegel saw Toronto become the boom town of the mid-century with more people, more money, and a rising birth rate. Sunday sports and cocktail bars were legalized. Construction was everywhere — the first subway line, new roads, new schools, new public housing, new apartments, new subdivisions, new commercial buildings. And most of the labour, skilled and unskilled, came from the immigrants. The racial joke of the time was a variation on the line, "I can't get a job in construction 'cause I can't speak Italian." The Italian response was, "If you ever send us back, we'll take our buildings with us."

One advantage for the immigrants — many of whom came from small towns and rural areas, and so encountered the double shock of a new culture and a big city — was that they could settle in areas of the city where their own people were already established. This was especially true for the Italians, the Portuguese, the Greeks, and the Chinese.

By 1953 the population of Toronto and the surrounding municipalities had increased by about 400,000. As immigrants poured into Toronto thousands of city people moved out to the new housing developments in the suburbs. They didn't move because of the immigrants or because the core of the city was rotting (it wasn't), it was simply that many people wanted new homes (even if they were "strawberry boxes") with parking spaces, lawns, less crowded neighbourhoods, and more accessible shopping plazas. But the new suburbs — no longer small-town communities, and without the commercial and industrial tax base of the city — were unable to provide the kinds of municipal services needed. And in essential services like police and transportation, there was little or no co-ordination across municipal boundaries. In the growing chaos the Ontario government stepped in to set up the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. Each existing community kept its local government, but Metro took over area-wide services such as public transit, water, sewage disposal, through roads, and police protection. This two-tier principle was extended to public education with the establishment of the Metropolitan Toronto School Board.

In this era Toronto had two of its most colourful mayors. Allan Lamport was famous for his Lamportisms: on one occasion in telling colleagues about his appearance before a government commission he said, "Why, I even went so far as to be fair!" Another time he was reported to have said, "If anyone's gonna stab me in the back I wanna be there." And Nathan Phillips became the first Jewish mayor of Toronto. "He was more than just a Jewish mayor," says Ida Siegel. "He was elected by all the people and he liked to be known — and rightly so — as the Mayor of All the People."

Those were expansive, heady days for Toronto, and they continued into the early 1960's. Then came the assassination of John F. Kennedy and a dozen years of upheaval in North America. In the United States there were the campus riots, the destruction of black ghettos, the opting-out of young people, the drug and rock-music scene, the emergence of "black power", and the controversy raging over the Viet Nam

War. In Canada things were less volatile but Toronto had its share of marches, demonstrations, drugs, and "hippie" problems, and in Montreal students smashed a university's computer system. In the province of Quebec French-speaking Canadians were demanding a bigger voice in government and in business, and the Separatists — who wanted Quebec to secede from Canada — were winning more adherents.

The New Politicians

By the late 1960's — after a quarter century of unprecedented growth for Toronto — a new generation of politician began appearing on the city scene. More community-minded, less sympathetic to the entrepeneur, more interested in healthful environments than in big developments, these "reform" politicians — already able to articulate and argue their causes — learned how to lobby, how to use the media, and how to activate community support. They helped people in working-class neighbourhoods to fight City Hall and save their homes from being demolished to make room for high-rises the people couldn't afford. The ranks of the reformers included councillors elected to the City Council and trustees elected to the Board of Education.

Basic to their success was a re-alignment of the wards of the city. (Each ward elects two aldermen to City Council and two trustees to the Board of Education). Under the old scheme the wards were laid out mainly in north-south strips so that each one cut across a wide variety of neighbourhoods and a city alderman often represented people with opposing interests. In 1969 the wards were formed more as blocks, each tending to have a population with similar interests and allowing people to elect representatives who would fight for those interests.

Perhaps the most dramatic success of the reform politicians came in halting the Spadina (pronounced Spa-dīne-a), an expressway being slashed through the north-west suburbs toward the heart of the city. Encouraged by people like Jane Jacobs, the American author of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, who had come to live in Toronto to get away from any association with the Viet Nam War, the "Stop-the-Spadina" campaign gained momentum. Eventually the provincial government stepped in and the expressway was dead. And for years the Spadina Ditch remained a public example of what community concern and the new-wave politicians could accomplish. Toronto, they all said, would never become the Los Angeles of the North.

The Ontario government had already passed "green-belt" legislation to keep Toronto from becoming the middle of a megalopolis stretching from Hamilton, 40 miles to the west, to Oshawa, 30 miles to the east. And with the Spadina victory behind them city politicians went all out for public transit, extending the subway lines and expanding bus service. They got involved in campaigns against air pollution and water pollution, and they restricted all building in the downtown area for a two-year period until they approved, in early 1976, a new official plan that promoted housing, parkland, and the preservation of historic landmarks.

The City That Works

Toronto today boasts that it has something for everyone. Located in the city are three large commercial theatres, more than a dozen small playhouses, a ballet company and a residential ballet school for children, a symphony orchestra, the University of Toronto, a large provincial museum and art gallery and dozens of small private galleries. Professional hockey and football teams play to sell-out crowds, and major league baseball is coming in 1977. Like most big North American cities Toronto also has its share of blue-movie houses and sleazy body-rub parlours.

The summer of '76 has seen the official opening of the CN (Canadian National) Tower, 1,815 feet high, the tallest free-standing structure in the world. Functioning as a communications tower, the structure is also a tourist attraction where visitors are taken 1,000 feet up the highest elevator ride on earth, to a revolving restaurant, bar, and lookout area, and then another 500 feet to the "Eagle's Nest" where they can see 100 miles in any direction.

With all these attractions and with its comparatively crime-free streets (45 murders last year in Metro), and its relatively pollution-free air, Toronto has become the delight of the tourist and the darling of the media. A writer in Harper's Magazine called it "a city that works — where neighbourhoods still mean something", while the National Geographic described it as "one of the most civil and civilized cities in the world". Author and environmentalist Jane Jacobs, who lives here, says it is "the most hopeful and healthy city in North America, still unmangled, still with options."

But all is not sweetness and light in the city that works. The Spadina expressway has been pushed about a mile farther into the city causing one cynic to say "We're getting expressways on the instalment plan." Instead of the American style "white flight" from the inner core of the city, Toronto has its "white painters" — middle-class professional families buying old homes in the downtown area and renovating them into high-priced modern town houses. The poor people who once rented the houses are forced to the suburbs to live in government-subsidized apartments or condominium developments. House prices throughout Metro Toronto are among the highest in North America — a house that sells for $50,000 in Columbus, Ohio, costs $80,000 in Toronto.

The so-called ethnic groups do not get big coverage on radio or television or in the press — except for parades, celebrations, folk dances, and other "colourful" events. True, there are dozens of ethnic newspapers, a 10 year-old radio station that broadcasts mainly in Italian,(and also in some 30 other languages), and some isolated television programs, but they do not reflect to the public at large the true character of the city. Blacks (mainly from the Caribbean), who number about 120,000 in a metro population of over two million, can dial a number listed in the Toronto telephone book under "White Power" and hear a recording from the Western Guard spewing out messages of hate against them.

Members of these other cultures — even those who are second and third generation Canadians — are still far from the sources of power. Banks, trust companies, and stock brokers are largely waspish. Only a few of city council's 22 members are from non-British cultural backgrounds. And immigrant workers suffer most from the council's anti-development policy and the consequent cut-back in construction projects.

The Toronto Board of Education has been running "New Canadian" or English as-a-second-language programs for ten years but even after a research study showed that in 1970 almost half of city students came from homes where the first language was other than English, the school system has been slow to respond to the basic problems of immigrant children — although with the results of a recent two-year study on multiculturalism, the Board has approved many recommendations that should improve the situation.

All of which brings us back to 92-year-old Ida Siegel. Ida has been turning up weekly in a Toronto school for the past eight years, talking with the children, telling them stories, asking them the meaning of words in their own first languages.

She gets a special welcome from the principal, Les Birmingham. "Oh, how I love that man," she says. "I know he's a non-Jew and he's got a lovely wife and five lovely children, but I'm just in love with him."

She has a simple, pragmatic approach to learning: "We should offer the children the kind of education that is best for them. If you break down the language barrier and think only of what the child needs there would be no problem."

She loves to quote poetry to the children and among her favourites is Robert Browning:

Grow old along with me,
The best is yet to be,
The last of life for which the first was made.

"I am the last," she says, "and you are the first," and her words have a meaning beyond their literal sense.

Ida Siegel is as proud of the Jewish tradition she was born into as of the Canada she has lived in most of her life. A living symbol of the hopes for multiculturalism, she is still on a spiritual journey that continues where it began in mid-town Toronto 83 years ago.

PART II

THE EDUCATION STRUCTURE

a) The Canadian Dilemma

Long before Ida Siegel came to Toronto, the basic structure of education in Canada had been determined. To understand that structure — and Toronto's place in it — one needs at least a sketchy knowledge of this country's history. Canada was settled by French colonists in the early 17th Century. The colony grew slowly for 150 years, its main settlements along the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and Montreal, its main interest the fur trade with the Indians. At the same time the British colonists from the Atlantic seaboard were pushing westward, interested more in land than in beaver skins. The rivalries and wars between the two culminated in the British capture of Montreal in 1760 and the eventual abandonment by France of all its possessions in mainland North America. French Canadians were left with their language, the Roman Catholic religion, and French civil laws.

A few years after the American Revolution thousands of United Empire Loyalists, who had opposed the Revolution, moved north into what was then known as British North America. The process of growing from colony to nation for Canada took nearly another hundred years. In 1867 the British North America Act united the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into the Dominion of Canada. This Confederation has been described as the basic symbolic achievement for Canada, combining as it did the British parliamentary system and the American arrangement of federal and state governments. Over the next 40 years five other provinces were created or entered Confederation, and in 1949 Newfoundland joined Canada as the tenth province. (In Canada federal and provincial governments were given well-defined responsibilities and residual powers were assigned to the federal government, whereas in the United States residual powers were left with the states.)

Today about six million of Canada's 24 million people speak French as their first language, and about three million of them speak only French. In the past quarter century French-speaking Canadians have demanded a greater share in the life and economy of Canada, a share that they claim has been denied them for 200 years. In the early 1960's there was much talk of the concept of "Two Nations", one French, and one English, within the context of a single Canada. The extreme form of French Canadian militancy came with the Separatists who said that the province of Quebec would do better as a nation completely separate from Canada.

Today Canada has an official bilingual policy. As Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau puts it, "Parliament, in the name of all Canadians, has decided that both English- and French-speaking citizens of this country have the right to be served by their government in their own languages."

At the present time some French-speaking Canadians in Quebec fear that their declining birth-rate combined with increasing immigration will make them a minority in their own province. The Montreal Catholic School Commission, for example, has already lost 60,000 pupils and says its present school population of 180,000 pupils will decline even more in the next ten years.

Canada is the second largest land mass in the world but much of it is unsuitable for settlement. Most of the country's population is concentrated in the cities and towns that dot the narrow belt of land running north of the American border. Eighty percent of Canadians live within 50 miles of that border — a fact that has influenced our history, our economy, our attitudes, and our educational practice. "We dream in French and English," says Governor-General Jules Léger, "but we work and we entertain ourselves more and more in American."

The extent of the country and its geographical variety — its waterways, its forests, the rock of the Precambrian Shield, the prairies, the mountains, the northern tundra — have made transportation and communication key challenges for Canadians. In the 1880's the federal government was obsessed with the creation of the "national dream" — a railroad over 3,000 miles long linking the country from east to west. In the 1920's the bush pilots, flying by "the seat of their pants", showed how to open up the frontier of the North. And for decades Canadians have been so fascinated by the telephone — invented we claim, in Brantford, Ontario — that we have made more telephone calls per person than any other nation on earth.

In the field of broadcasting, the CBC — The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation — was set up in the 1930's as an independent federal agency to bring radio to all parts of the country and provide another unifying link for the nation. Its development as a federally funded body with some commercially sponsored programs, first in radio, then in television, was a typical Canadian compromise between the British creation of the non-commercial BBC and the American practice of developing national commercial networks made up of local private stations.

Side by side with the CBC — and sometimes as part of its network — there grew up local commercial radio stations, then commercial television stations and networks. In Toronto today an average viewer has a choice of a dozen TV channels including seven local ones (one of them an educational channel financed by the Ontario government) and four American networks coming in from Buffalo. With cable TV converting equipment, a dozen more channels are available.

So the basic facts about Canada are the size of the country, the relative smallness of its population, the mainly British heritage, the two official languages, the proximity to the United States, and the problems of communication.

Little wonder that we worry so much about our identity as Canadians. We know we are not British and we insist we are not American. But what are we and how are we different? Canadian poet Miriam Waddington puts it this way:

What is a Canadian
anyway? A mountain, a maple
leaf, a prairie, a Niagara fall,
a trail beside the Atlantic, a
bilingualism, a scarred mosaic,
a yes-no somehow-or-other maybe-
might-be should-be could-be
glacial shield, grain elevator,
empire daughter imperial order of
man woman child or what?

b) Federal Involvement in Education

Under the terms of the British North America Act of 1867 the provinces of Canada control education.

There is no federal office of education in Canada, no national agency that approves text-books, co-ordinates curriculum, or directs teacher training. As a 1975 O.E.C.D. report points out, this has meant a lack of uniformity and a lack of national goals in education — schools are more likely to serve local or regional interests than national ones. Someone has said we are a nation held together by regional tensions.

One national organization, the Canadian Education Association, is financed mainly by the provincial ministries of education and operates mainly as an information agency for those ministries and for member school boards. And a Council of Ministers of Education provides a forum for direct communication between the ten provincial ministers.

Lack of a federal office does not mean lack of federal involvement in education . In the past quarter century the federal government -- through various departments and agencies — has spent massive sums of money on education in areas such as the schooling of Indians and Eskimos, vocational training and retraining programs, grants and loans for post-secondary education, military and prison education, and support for a national policy of bilingualism. The Government of Canada now spends two billion dollars a year on education. But, because of provincial jurisdiction over education, most of the federal programs are limited by agreements with the provinces.

c) Provincial Control of Education

In the Province of Ontario the Ministry of Education has control over elementary and secondary education. (A Ministry of Colleges and Universities handles post-secondary education.) Local boards of education can be created only by provincial legislation. In the 1960's, for example, about 3,000 small school boards were amalgamated into fewer than 200 large administrative units. And the two-tier structure of governance in Metropolitan Toronto is specified in a separate Act of the Ontario Legislature.

Until about a decade ago provincal control of education was very direct. A corps of inspectors checked every classroom regularly to make sure that the prescribed curriculum was being followed and that facilities were up to standard. Year-end examinations let everyone know how the students, the teachers, and the schools were doing. But today the inspectors, the prescribed curriculum and the provincial exams are gone. Today control is expressed in three main ways:

(i) education and certification of teachers,

(ii) curriculum and program guidelines (generally broad enough so that individual boards of education and schools

have a good degree of flexibility), and
(iii) financial assistance amounting to an average of 60 percent of operating costs and 95 percent of capital costs.

The British North America Act, which gave control of education to the provinces, contained protection for religious minorities. Thus Protestants in Quebec and Roman Catholics in Ontario were guaranteed the right to operate their own denominational schools. From this basis, parallel publicly-supported school systems evolved. In Ontario today Roman Catholics may enrol their children in and direct their property taxes to the separate rather than the public school system. About half of them do so. In a few areas where Roman Catholics form a majority of the population, separate school systems serve the Protestant minority. Tax support for separate schools may extend to grade 10 but most separate schools end at grade 8. Because Roman Catholics are required to support the public secondary schools, they elect to these public boards representatives who may speak or vote on all matters except those that affect only the public elementary schools.

Local school systems, both public and separate, are supported financially by the Province of Ontario. The amount of support varies inversely with the property wealth of the community. Tax-poor boards may receive as much as 95 percent of their money from provincial grants while tax-rich Metropolitan Toronto gets about 30 percent. In addition to taxing ability, the educational needs of the local board are taken into account in calculating rate of grant. In the case of Metropolitan Toronto some 13 percent of the total grant on elementary expenditures results from what are called weighting factors. It's approximately 6 percent in the case of secondary school costs. Across Ontario, there is presently no correlation between assessment per student and expenditure per student.

Provincial grants do not flow directly to the Toronto Board of Education, nor do the property taxes collected by the City of Toronto for educational purposes. Both of these prime revenue sources are filtered through the Metropolitan Toronto School Board, the upper level of the two-tier governance structure.

d) The Two-Tiered System

Today the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is a political entity covering an area of 240 square miles and including the

City of Toronto, and the five surrounding boroughs of East York, Scarborough, North York, York, and Etobicoke (pronounced E-toe-be-koe, for some reason no one seems able to determine). With a total population of over two million Metro has more people than eight of the ten provinces of Canada. Toronto is the largest Metro member with about 700,000.

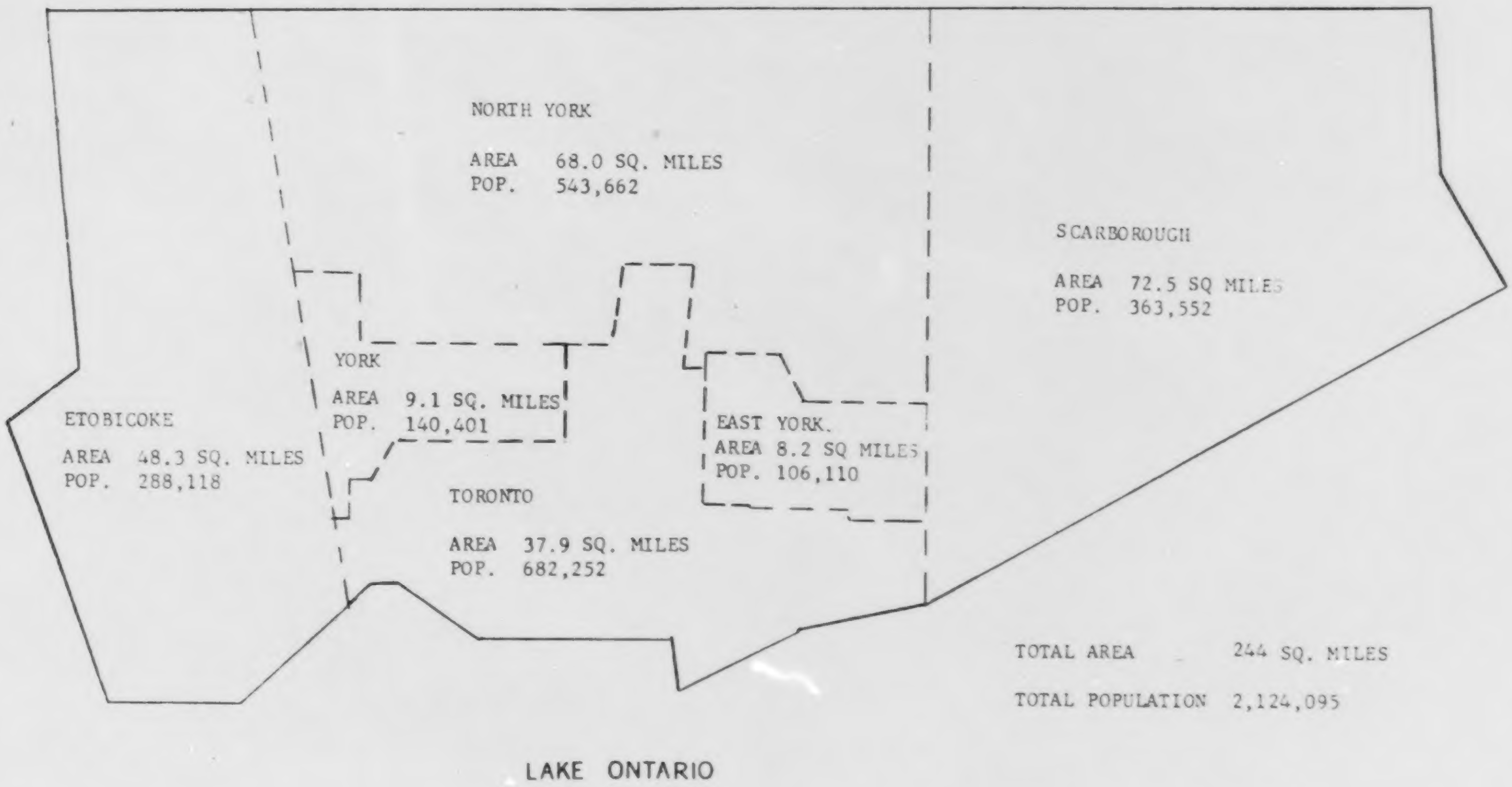
The two-level Metropolitan structure was created in 1954 to solve a mess of problems relating mainly to growth in the suburbs. The law establishing Metropolitan Toronto assigns some powers and responsibilities exclusively to the upper Metro level of government, some to the local municipalities and some to be shared by both levels. For the most part, matters that require area wide co-ordination such as public transportation, arterial roads, water and sewers, garbage disposal and police are looked after at Metro while local streets, electricity, garbage collection and fire protection are handled locally. Both levels share responsibility for planning, social services, licensing and traffic.

The public school system is organized on a similar two-level basis — there is the Metropolitan Toronto School Board and there are six boards of education at the local level, one in each municipality. There is also the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board which operates an amalgamated system over the whole Metropolitan area for some 91,200 students in 192 schools. It is governed by 21 trustees elected by the separate school taxpayers.

Local public boards of education are also governed by elected trustees, some of whom also serve as trustees on the upper level Metropolitan Toronto School Board. At both levels some of the seats on these public boards are reserved for trustees representing the separate school supporters. When the Metro School Board came into being in 1954, Toronto was given ten of the 22 seats on the Board, ten were given to the borough boards and two to the Metropolitan Separate School Board. This was necessary as Toronto, which would have preferred total amalgamation, contained about 57 percent of the Metro population, and had to be assured a strong voice in Metro deliberations.

The Metro educational system was designed to marshall all the financial resources of the area and divide them equitably among the area boards. The dual goals were a uniform tax rate across the area and an equal educational opportunity for every child regardless of place of residence.

METROPOLITAN TORONTO 1976


NORTH YORK
AREA 68.0 SQ. MILES
POP. 543,662
SCARBOROUGH
AREA 72.5 SQ MILES
POP. 363,552
YORK
AREA 9.1 SQ. MILES
POP. 140,401
ETOBICOKE
AREA 48.3 SQ. MILES
POP. 288,118
EAST YORK.
AREA 8.2 SQ MILES
POP. 106,110
TORONTO
AREA 37.9 SQ. MILES
POP. 682,252
LAKE ONTARIO

TOTAL AREA 244 SQ. MILES

TOTAL POPULATION 2,124,095

Visitors have often praised the Metro education structure as the very model of what big-city school administration should be. Among them was American author Robert Bendiner in his book, *The Politics of Schools:* "For a view of how to work out the art of protecting the small within the large, preserving localism within metropolitanism — one can only turn to the city of Toronto and its environs, where the emphasis is not so much on bigness and supergovernment as it is on the warmer and more attractive concepts of federation."

The original Metro structure was quite successful in providing funds for new schools in an equitable manner. Building was not confined to the suburbs; between 1954 and 1973, 34 old schools were replaced and 60 additions were made to schools in the central city. This represented 69 million of the 500 million dollars invested in plant and sites by Metro during the period. But equity was more elusive to achieve in the area of current operating costs.

Initially about 60 percent of the Area Boards' current costs came from Metro funds. But this support dropped to 50 percent between 1955 and 1963. At that time, because of differences in the tax base, Toronto was able to spend $523 per elementary student compared to $378 in another Board with an even higher tax rate. This decrease in equity annoyed many suburban boards, but they were helpless to change it. Toronto trustees effectively controlled the Metro Board which set the level of support from central coffers.

By the mid 60's the explosive growth in the suburbs, combined with Toronto's relatively stable population, meant that Toronto had only about 35 percent of the total Metro population. For these and other reasons the Ontario government appointed a special commission to look into the Metro set-up. As a result of their work and the responses to it, the government prepared legislation that created a revised Metro as of January 1, 1967. In education, local school boards were to retain powers broad enough to let them run programs responsive to local needs, and the existing two-tier structure was to continue with the Metropolitan Toronto School Board having almost complete control of both operating and capital budgets.

For the City of Toronto Board the most obvious change was a weaker voice in Metro affairs. The Metro Board now had 18 members with only six from Toronto. In addition to the chairman of each of the six local boards, the other 12 trustees were appointed as follows: — five from Toronto, two from North York, one each from Etobicoke and Scarborough, and three from the Metropolitan Separate School Board.

Thus the 1967 legislation redistributed political power to the suburban boards and gave control of Area Board budgets to the Metro School Board. From that point equalization of services among the Boards proceeded slowly. Several boards with long traditions of frugality did not immediately submit budget requests for levels of services comparable to high spending boards.

Everyone knew that equity would not result in equal dollar expenditures. Boards with more special problems requiring smaller classes or specialized programs would have to spend more dollars than other boards. And there would be differences in costs resulting from variation in the qualifications or experience of the teaching staff.

After 1967 the mechanism for achieving equity became a series of budget formulae. These formulae eventually covered 16 specific functions such as Supplies and Furniture, Computer Services, Plant Operations, Plant Maintenance, Instructional Salaries, and Continuing Education. Committees of senior academic and finance staff from all the Area Boards review these formulae annually.

A formula for staff allocation takes account of the numbers of various types of students while that for plant maintenance is based on the age of facilities, floor area, and severity of use. Thus the formulae are designed to reflect actual needs and variations as far as possible.

The formulae generate an amount of money which, when approved by the Metro School Board, is available to the Area Boards for their purposes. Except for money budgeted for Instructional Salaries, funds need not be spent according to the formulae. But because many formulae include the previous year's actual expenditure as a base there is a general tendency to keep actual expenditures in line with budget allocations.

Having determined the amounts of money which can be spent, the Metro School Board must then raise it and distribute it to the Area Boards. While the Board could collect tax money directly, it has preferred to co-operate with municipal governments. The tax bills come from the local municipalities but they have no fiscal control over school board budgets nor are there any public referenda.

The executive committee of the Board is known as the Committee of Board Chairmen and its meetings are attended by the Metro director and the six local directors of education. For a number of years this committee of Board Chairmen has carried the responsibility for salary negotiations.

Thus local boards of education operate as part of the Metropolitan system and under the provincial guidelines. Within these two sets of constraints, boards such as Toronto are free to hire their own teachers, build and maintain their own schools, determine local education policy, and develop curricula and programs suited to the needs of their students and their communities.

The next section of this report deals with the story of immigrant education in Toronto and with some political and administrative crises that lead to a changing style of operation for the Toronto Board of Education.

PART III

A CHANGING SCHOOL SYSTEM

a) The First Hundred Years

In the early 1800's the common schools in the Toronto area were developed because of local interest in education, and by mid-century 15 school sections were in operation, each with its own locally elected board of trustees. In 1847 an Act of the Provincial legislature amalgamated them under the Toronto Board of Eduation.

From its founding the Board has regularly had large numbers of non Anglo-Saxon immigrant children in its schools. For more than a hundred years the Board's response to these "foreign students" was consistent — the educational system was to be used "to make real Canadians out of those who are more or less unacquainted with our customs and ideals."

The first major immigrant group the Toronto Board had to deal with was the Irish, large numbers of whom settled in the city in the 1840's and 1850's at the time of the Irish Potato Famine. The "Irish problem" was often discussed within the context of the controversial question of whether schools should become free and compulsory. One scholar of this period of the Board's history has written:

> *To its proponents, the extension of free schooling would not only ensure a higher rate of attendance, but would also serve to assimilate the 'famine Irish' who had flocked to the cities of Canada West (Ontario) in the late 1840's and whose mere physical presence mid-nineteenth century educators perceived as a direct threat to social order.*
>
> *Free schools would make new arrivals into Canadians through coercion if necessary. The immigrant child would have to be separated from the influence of its parents between the ages of roughly five to twelve, and during that time taught the values of an expanding mercantile society.*

This kind of thinking — some call it "cultural imperialism" — was one of the reasons free and compulsory schooling came to Toronto in 1871.

As a means of reaching adult immigrants the Toronto Board of Education experimented with evening schools. The first of these, operated from 1855 to 1860, failed because of the competition from courses offered by the Toronto Mechanics' Institute. But they were successfully revived in the 1880's, and evening classes became a permanent feature of the Board's educational system. One of the early students, a former slave who escaped from the American south on the "underground railroad" testified to their effectiveness in a letter to the *Toronto Citizen* on March 18, 1882:

> *Toronto,*
> *Dear Sir:*
> *I am glad to tell you that I am doing well at school and I thank the trustees for the night school.*
> *Yours truly,*
> *John Jackson.*

The *Citizen* goes on to say that Jackson had "learned to write in the course of a four months' session of the Toronto School Board night schools" and that "he was 63 years old and looks a genuine specimen of an aged wooly-headed negro. He broke away from slavery some years ago, and with his wife and child made tracks for Canada, where he first breathed the air of freedom."

In the early years of this century, as thousands of non-English speaking immigrants were coming into the city, the Toronto Board's policy was one of cultural assimilation. In the 1913 *Annual Report* to the Board, James L. Hughes, the Chief Inspector of Schools for Toronto, wrote about "Toronto's Foreign Population":

> *In the last few years Toronto has received a great number of immigrants from nations not Anglo-Saxon. So great has been this influx, that we have now in this city a foreign population of about 70,000.*
>
> *If these people are to be assimilated and made good citizens, it must be largely through education. The Board of Education realizes this and provides liberally for these people. There are Night Classes for adults in which hundreds are struggling to get some proficiency in the English language. Six or more nationalities may be found in a single class.*
>
> *The children of these foreigners, of course, have to attend our day schools.*
>
> *The progress these pupils make is marvellous. The teachers do not know the language of these foreigners, and the results obtained prove that it is not necessary that they should to teach these people.*

The most the Board would do in the early part of this century was to set up some special classes for teaching English to "foreign" students. In 1913, for example, it started some "steamer classes" modelled on an idea originating in Cleveland, Ohio. These were classes for teaching only English to non-English-speaking pupils regardless of age. But one devastating statistic from 1914 tells the story of their effect — and perhaps of their meaning to the system: out of 283 pupils in these "steamer classes" 172 were failed at the end of the year.

One of the Board programs for helping to Canadianize immigrant boys was cadet training, which greatly appealed to Anglo-Saxon Torontonians in the high-water years of the British Empire. Colonel John T. Thompson started the cadet program in 1875 and supervised it for 56 years. On his retirement in 1931 he wrote:

> *Morally, drill teaches prompt, definite and willing obedience; it makes a boy executive, it reveals his duty as a citizen and his true relationship to his country and to his fellow-citizens. It aids in development of a true spirit of patriotism not only in Canadian boys but in the large number of foreign boys who have recently been coming to Canada in large numbers.*

Right up until 1960 little change is seen in the Board's approach to educating immigrants. In a major address to the Commonwealth Teachers' Conference in Toronto in 1955 Director of Education Dr. C. C. Goldring spoke on the subject "Are We Educating for Canadian Citizenship?" He made only a passing reference to minority groups in a section of his speech dealing with French-speaking Canadians:

> *French-speaking Canadians are not a minority group faced with the prospect of being assimilated by the majority like immigrant groups of European origin.*

In those days it was an assumption that no one in the school system would challenge.

b) The Expanding Sixties

The years of the 1960's were years of heady expansion in the Toronto school system. Enrolments climbed from 93,000 in 1960 to over 110,000 in 1969, and the Board budget more than doubled to 95 million dollars.

The decade began with the building of the Education Centre to house the Board's non-teaching staff. Education director

Z. S. Phimister saw the Centre as the heart of the system, a curriculum and resource centre where teachers would flock in for meetings and workshops, and a policy and administration centre where the Board and its officials would plan for the future.

Phimister also took the first steps in breaking down the old rigidities of the system. For decades Toronto had had a Public (Elementary) School Division, and a Secondary School Division, each with its own superintendent and its own little bureaucracy, and each virtually independent of the other. Phimister tried to start a process of integration by putting a public school official in charge of half of the curriculum from kindergarten to Grade 13 and a secondary school official in charge of the other half. But he left in 1965 to become the Deputy Minister of Education for the province, and the idea of moving into a completely integrated system virtually died with his departure. (Ironically Toronto, which had taken the initial steps before most other Ontario school boards, became one of the last to make the change.)

In those years the partnership between elected trustees and appointed officials was an uneasy one often characterized by outright suspicion. The officials had one big advantage in that they presented, at least in public, a united front, while trustees disagreed among themselves usually in public and often about trivia.

("What else can we talk about?" said the trustee. "They never tell us what's going on."

"If we told them everything," said the official, "they'd blab it to the papers.")

Trustees, with a few notable exceptions, did not dig up information for themselves, and the administrators did not encourage them to go near the schools. Most trustees dealt with staff through the top officials and the officials didn't want staff too close to the trustees ("Don't forget, you're working for us, not them.") Board meetings tended to have a comic opera quality and the press was generally critical — although stories about the schools were usually favourable.

Yet they got things done that were to give Toronto a reputation as a progressive school system.

They opened two outdoor schools — one on Toronto Island just off the waterfront and one 50 miles north of the city. Both are residential schools where students go for a five-day experience in environmental studies.

They developed a broad Special Education program and created a Language Study Centre to co-ordinate the teaching of English through all the grades.

They introduced a sex education program (calling it "Family Life" didn't still the cries of one trustee about it being a "Communist plot to destroy the morals of our youth") which even Loren Lind, a local education writer and one of the Board's harshest critics, was to describe as the finest in Canada.

They approved the re-writing of courses in French as its study was extended downward to Grade 5, and they hired dozens of teachers who spoke French as their first language.

They set up a Research Department to let the system take a critical look at itself, and an Education Centre Library with an emphasis on information movement.

They hired social workers and interpreter-counsellors who spoke the first languages of the larger immigrant groups in the city.

They took advantage of large federal-provincial grants to build three special high schools and four vocational schools for young people not making it in the traditional system. The secondary school officials could boast that they had "a school or program to meet the needs of every student in the system", and that these new kinds of schools dramatically reduced the drop-out rate. Few seemed to notice — or if they did, they thought it only natural — that most of those channelled into these schools were either immigrants or children from low-income homes.

They also began a variety of programs for immigrant children that became known as the New Canadian Programs.

c) New Canadianism

In the early 1960's it was clear that something more had to be done for the thousands of non-English-speaking young immigrants going to city schools. (For adults English and Citizenship classes had been held in Toronto schools for many years, and by 1959 enrolment was 3,870 in the evening classes and 985 in summer schools.)

Some public school principals had tried to do something in their schools by organizing a buddy system in which a non-English-speaking child was paired with a classmate who spoke the same language as well as English. But the first effort to come to grips with the problem on a systematic basis was in 1962.

In that year the Board's Research Department, in co-operation with the Public School Principals' Association, did a survey of pupils learning English as a second language in Toronto public schools. They found that 11,273 children — roughly 15 percent of the public school population — were non-English-speaking, that 85 percent of them were concentrated in schools in the western section of the city, and that their most common first language was Italian.

In interpreting the results of the survey the research report says:

> *The fact that 15 percent of the Public School population was classified as non-English-speaking indicates the magnitude of the problem faced by the schools. In other school systems of at least comparable size to Toronto, a small percentage of non-English-speaking pupils has caused school authorities no little concern and has prompted them to take intensive action. Thus, in the City of New York, less than one percent of the school population was represented in The Puerto Rican Study (1958).*

The report also said that "an intensive search must be initiated immediately for procedures for teaching pupils English as the language of instruction in the schools."

One result of that early research was the opening of the first summer school for New Canadians in 1963. Over 500 pupils studied in three schools in a program devoted exclusively to teaching English with emphasis on the oral use of language. Officials from the Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration visited the schools and, according to the Board's 1963 Annual Report, "claimed the project was unique in existence and organization."

Then in September 1965 the Board opened Main Street School as a reception school for non-English-speaking immigrant students. The school's philosophy was first articulated by Mel LaFountaine who worked out of the Education Centre Library, functioning as a kind of gadfly to the administration. In an internal memo dated August 10, 1965 Lafountaine said that immigrant education was a cultural issue rather than a language problem.

> *The real fact of life in this question of the new immigrant population in our school system is that the problem it presents is not, never has been, and never will be, a language problem. It is a cultural problem. Furthermore,*

> *it insists that the new immigrant's culture and ours be integrated, made compatible, in the personality of the immigrant himself. This means that there is only one valid principle to which the Board can look for its solution. The new immigrant must be provided with the opportunity and the possibility to effect the integration of his own culture with the new culture — which the school represents — for himself, on his own terms and in his own time.*

That philosophy was put into practice by Main Street School Principal Joseph Sterioff, a Macedonian immigrant's son who knew from personal experience the problems of transferring from one culture to another.

Describing the Main Street program in a Toronto Board magazine in 1965. Sterioff had this to say:

> *At Main Street there is a great deal of sharing of experiences. Teachers and students do things together — they work out projects together, they visit the community library, stores, and shops together, they eat their lunch together, they go on field trips together. The students are encouraged to talk about the way of life in their native land and of the changes Canada had meant for them and their families. There is no attempt to influence the students into adopting the clothes, food, and responses of other young Canadians. The fact that a boy's lunch consists of a thick chunk of meat and a slab of bread instead of a ham or cheese sandwich and an apple should be, not a source of confusion and embarrassment, but an opportunity for an exchange of information and ideas — and perhaps an exchange of food. The round lunch tables provide a setting for developing dialogue as a pupil eats with teachers and classmates. Here, as elsewhere in the school, the aim is not to assimilate these young people into our culture, but to integrate them.*

Thus the approach of the Toronto school system had moved from one of cultural assimilation to one of cultural integration. Assimilation's aim had been to Canadianize a child without regard to the child's first language and culture; integration's ideal was the blending of the new culture and the old within the personality of the child.

In 1967 the Board created an administrative department called New Canadian Programs, and later set up a special committee on educating New Canadians. A Board fact card of

1969 speaks proudly of the efforts the system was putting forth:

> *The education of non-English-speaking residents of Toronto represents a cultural challenge as well as a language problem. To meet that challenge the Board spends about four million dollars a year and on any given school day provides special educational benefits for more than 20,000 children and adults. Exact statistics are difficult to get because the steady influx of immigrant families changes the numbers and characteristics of the New Canadian population from week to week.*

The main elements in the New Canadian program were these (all of them are still in operation but, in expanded and refined forms and within the context of multiculturalism, they are now described as English-as-a-second-language programs):

Withdrawal Classes — pupils leave their regular classes periodically to join a special class for intensive instruction in English.

Reception Classes — pupils from grade 7 and up with no knowledge of English attend reception classes full time but as they learn English they're gradually integrated into the regular school program.

Transition Classes — some students spend about half the school day in a regular class and half in a transitional class for special English, until they're ready to transfer full time to a regular class.

Teaching Assistants — in kindergarten classes with 25 percent or more non-English-speaking students, teaching assistants are hired to help with routine tasks.

Adult Classes — evening classes in English as a second language are held in about 20 schools, and day classes in 3 schools.

Summer School — classes for adults are held in six schools and for school-age students in 26 schools.

In addition, since 1962, the Research Department has produced 39 studies related to New Canadians, and a series of background kits for teachers on China, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and the West Indies. The Board also began in 1965 to publish information booklets for parents in Italian, and later in Chinese, Greek, Polish, Portuguese, and Spanish.

All of these New Canadian programs — as well as the other programs and services developed in the 1960's — were possible in an expanding economy where money was available. Taxes were rising but in those post-Sputnik years most people were willing to pay for the "quest for excellence" in education. They were fascinated by the talk about things like the child-centred curriculum, team-teaching, in-school television, and open-plan classrooms. And they were being told that all problems would be solved and the world made brave and new through the alchemy of education.

d) The Ceilings

By the end of the 1960's the public enchantment with education was changing to howls about rising taxes. The Government of Ontario was disturbed at the annually increasing percentage of its budget going into education (in 1970 it was 41 percent). And the Toronto press was hammering away at the high costs of new schools, swimming pools, and special equipment and facilities — not to mention the "inflated salaries" of the bureaucrats running the system. The common charge was that arrogant administrators, not responsible to the electorate, had too many grandiose schemes and school trustees were simply rubber-stamping them.

The Minister of Education reacted to all this by placing limits on school board spending throughout the province for 1971. Here are the basic provincial ceilings and the Metro ceilings for the years 1971 to 1975. (The Metro ceilings are higher because of certain "weighting" factors based on programs, services, and community circumstances.)

Elementary	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Basic Ceilings	$ 545	595	630	704	926
Metro Ceilings	750	776	759+	885	1164
Secondary					
Basic Ceilings	1060	1100	1130	1231	1441
Metro Ceilings	1210	1273	1249+	1429	1673

+(In 1971 boards were allowed to exceed the ceilings by about two-thirds of the amount they had exceeded their recognized base costs in 1970. In 1972 they could exceed the ceilings by about one-third of the same amount but after that no such allowance was made. So the Metro ceilings for 1973 were actually lower than those for 1972.)

The Boards hardest hit by the ceilings were those like Toronto that had been the big spenders all through the 1960's.

By 1973 the Toronto Board found itself in a financial bind — staff salaries were increasing and more staff were moving into higher salary brackets, costs of all materials and supplies were going up because of inflation, teachers were insisting on maintaining or improving the pupil-teacher ratio, and school enrolments were declining — and all this in a year when the spending limits were less than the year before.

Early in the year the Chairwoman of the Board, Judy Jordan, warned that the Board might have to cut 7 million dollars from its proposed budget. In a letter to staff she wrote: "Let us hope that we can solve our problems without resorting to the somewhat desperate tactics reported of a school board in the United States. There the following letter was sent home with elementary school children on the opening day of school.

> *Dear Parent,*
>
> *Welcome! We are glad to have your child on Team W.*
>
> *Please send $3.00 for supplies such as crayons, paper, pencils, notebooks, etc., with your child tomorrow.*
>
> *Also, because supply funds have been cut from the county, we would appreciate your child bringing at sometime during the year a roll of toilet tissues, a roll of paper towels, a bar of soap, and a box of facial tissues.*
>
> *Thank you. We are looking forward to a productive school year.*"

But there were few light moments during the year as the trustees confronted first the Ministry of Education, then the Metro School Board. For the Toronto Board representatives on Metro it was a schizophrenic time: one month they were acting as a political unit with other area board trustees to squeeze all they could from the Ministry of Education; the next month they were competing with those same trustees to get as much as they could from the Metro pot.

The process of achieving equity among the Metro boards was accelerated by the provincial ceilings. Prior to the ceilings, equity was coming slowly as high spending boards stopped expanding while low spending boards caught up. The amount of "catch-up" was set by the Metro board each year at budget time. But with the ceilings the overall amounts of money allowed were less than what the budget formulae had previously generated. Low spending boards were dismayed because they had to slow down the catch-up process, while high spending boards like Toronto had to make drastic cuts. In 1973-74 Toronto cut back on its consulting, caretaking, and other non-teaching staff.

The ceilings lasted five years. During that time rancor and dissent were the order of the day at the Metro Board. Formulae equity was achieved through severe cutbacks of ancillary and support services in the previously high spending boards like Toronto. And the formulae, which were originally designed to pace development, were ultimately used to distribute cuts in an equitable fashion.

A continuing complaint of the Toronto Board is that for years it has been subsidizing to some extent the other boards in Metro. In 1975, for example, about 197 million dollars was raised for the Metro School Board through city property taxes and city-related provincial grants, but to run its school system the Toronto Board got back from Metro only about 153 million dollars. In other words, Toronto's tax and grant base was responsible for raising 44 million for the other boards. Those Boards argue that Toronto has a huge commercial and industrial tax base not available to them.

Toronto trustees also complain about the loss of local autonomy, with the blame being placed alternatively on the Ministry and Metro.

e) Tensions at Metro

In the early 1970's some of the area Boards petitioned the Ministry of Education to dissolve the two-tier Metro structure. Their calculations had led them to believe that they would have higher spending limits under direct provincial control than they were getting through the complex Metro formulae. A ministerial commission was appointed in mid-1973 under the Chairmanship of a former Chairman of the Metro School Board, Barry Lowes, to report on the Organization and Financing of the Public and Secondary School Systems in Metropolitan Toronto.

About a year later the Lowes Commission made a long series of recommendations to the Minister. The net result would have given much greater control over operating expenditures to the Area Boards and increased the responsibilities of the Metro Board in planning, research, computer services, and special education. Residual powers would lie with the Area Boards, who would be able to transfer powers to and from the Metro Board by mutual agreement. But while the report was being developed and considered, three other events took place. The Metro Board moved to "formulae equity" well ahead of schedule; a Royal Commission was appointed to review the total Metropolitan structure (including education); and the provincial spending limits were removed at the end of 1975.

All of the Area Boards have submitted briefs to the Royal Commission which is being chaired by John Robarts, a former Premier of Ontario. Analysis of those briefs reveals continuing stresses and strains and pleas for greater autonomy, especially from tax-rich boards such as Toronto. Despite the problems there is general agreement that the citizens of Metropolitan Toronto have been well served by the two-tier structure. The achievements of the system in providing facilities of an acceptable standard at acceptable debenture rates, stabilizing salary negotiations, rationalizing attendance areas, providing funds for an equivalent level of educational program from a uniform tax levy, and delivering first class education in the Schools for the Retarded are not questioned.

But past performance is no guarantee of present or future utility. Specific complaints included the following:

1. Approvals for capital expenditures are complex. The method may promote competition among the Area Boards for their full share of available funds.
2. Salary negotiations are conducted by the Committee of Board Chairmen and final approval of financial matters rests with Metro. Many would prefer to negotiate conditions of work locally although these have financial implications. Few trustees are involved in negotiations yet they are responsible for settlements to their electors.
3. Budget formulae are criticized for being too complex. Because the formulae are not true budgets but generators of dollars, some say they have to budget twice and then defend (or enforce) the real budget at home against the formulae budget.
4. All boards outside of Metropolitan Toronto deal directly with the Province. The six Area Boards in Metro have limited power with respect to staff allocation and other financially relevant matters, yet they are among the largest in the Province.
5. The costs of operating the upper tier might be better applied at the local level.

The Metropolitan Toronto School Board was not designed to solve all local problems or alleviate local pressures— it was established to provide a Metro-wide standard of facilities and programs for all students and to require all ratepayers to share equally in the costs.

Present strains within the Metropolitan system of education reflect the basic contradictions and dilemmas of the times. Some of the tension being experienced by trustees, administrators, teachers, and parents may have little to do with organizational structure or even financial autonomy. Rather, it may reveal a deep anxiety about current relationships between people and their institutions. The fear of bigness is widespread, as is the cynicism about bureaucracy. Any organization as large and complex as the two-tier Metropolitan school system will attract considerable distrust and criticism.

It is possible that the potential strength of the Metro system, particularly in providing a rational, objective environment for problem solving, is not being well exploited. Without a renewed commitment from the Area Boards, the Metropolitan Toronto School Board may not be able to achieve its potential for helping to solve common problems in ways that are beneficial to all.

f) The Problems of Sharing

Along with the continuing tensions of its dealings with the Ministry of Education and the other boards in the Metro federation in the early 1970's, the Toronto Board found itself involved in a number of other conflicts.

On a day in September 1974 a boy burst into the office of the principal at Hughes Public School to exclaim, "Sir, there's a Catholic in the washroom!" Hughes was one of the Toronto schools being shared by the public school and separate school systems, each with its own offices, storerooms, washrooms, and other facilities. And on this particular day a Catholic boy had wandered into the public-school washroom. The incident — duly reported in the press — dramatized a crisis that had been building up for a number of years.

Ontario parents send their children to public schools or separate (Catholic) schools, with Roman Catholic taxpayers having a choice of directing their local property taxes to the support of either one. Historically, it all goes back to the year 1841 when the Common School Act gave both Roman Catholics and Protestants the right to establish their own elementary schools. In those days communities often split on religious lines and the word "ecumenical" was found only in dictionaries. The idea of "the total Catholic environment as the ideal educational milieu" gained more and more support from Catholic parents. Legislation soon made it possible for separate school supporters to pay their school taxes to the separate school board. And in 1867 the British North America Act, which created the new Dominion of Canada, guaranteed their rights.

In recent years the Ministry of Education has given increasing financial support to the separate schools, but the general pattern of that support has remained the same, that is, support for elementary schools (kindergarten to grade 8 and in some cases grades 9 and 10) but no help for secondary schools. The Progressive Conservative government (in office in Ontario since 1943) has felt that, considering the higher per-pupil cost of running secondary schools, it cannot afford to support two secondary school systems throughout the province. Catholic secondary schools are, in effect, private schools financed by fees, the Church, and private donations. Most Catholic children transfer to the public secondary school system at the end of grade 8.

The provincial grants to separate schools are comparatively large to make up for the fact that few local corporate taxes go to them. This kind of equalizing support has been developed to ensure that children do not suffer simply because parents exercise their constitutional right to send their children to separate schools.

Separate schools grew slowly but steadily in the Toronto area. The big step forward came in 1953 when — to coincide with the birth of Metro — the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board was formed. At that time the separate school enrolment was 19,000.

The mid 1950's saw the beginning of a huge annual influx of immigrants from two predominantly Catholic countries, Italy and Portugal. Most of them settled in parts of the city near other Italians and Portuguese. Most of them sent their children down the street to the neighbourhood school — and for tens of thousands of children that school was a public school run by the City of Toronto Board of Education. Some parents preferred the public school for their children because of its mix of cultures and religions. But many did not at first understand the difference between a public school and a separate school. Back home there was only one state school.

For many years the Toronto Board had more neighbourhood schools, more money to spend per-pupil, better school facilities, and more established programs in areas such as junior kindergartens, special education, and New Canadian classes. Through the mid and late 60's the enrolment in Toronto Board schools exceeded 100,000. But by the early 70's three circumstances had combined to decrease that enrolment and to create a situation that brought echoes of Ontario's old religious animosities (although it would be wrong to interpret what followed as a religious quarrel).

First — and basic to the situation — was that the population of the city of Toronto became for the first time in its history more than 50 percent Roman Catholic.

Second, the steadily increasing provincial grants enabled the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board to expand its school programs and improve its physical facilities. By 1969 the separate schools had 70,000 children.

Third, certain parish priests began an aggressive campaign to persuade Catholic parents to switch their tax support to the separate school board. To the priests it was a matter of informing parents of their right to send their children to schools of their own faith. To many unsympathetic to the separate school cause it smacked more of intimidation.

In the first week of September 1972 the whole thing exploded in the face of the Toronto school board. Enrolment in the public schools was more than 1,600 below the projected figures. Dozens of classrooms sat empty, mainly in Hughes and another school in the area of the city known as Little Italy, and about 60 teachers had nobody to teach. At the same time separate school enrolment was up by 3,000 to a new high of 80,000 and the separate school board was bussing children to schools, adding portable classrooms in school yards, and setting up other classes in church basements.

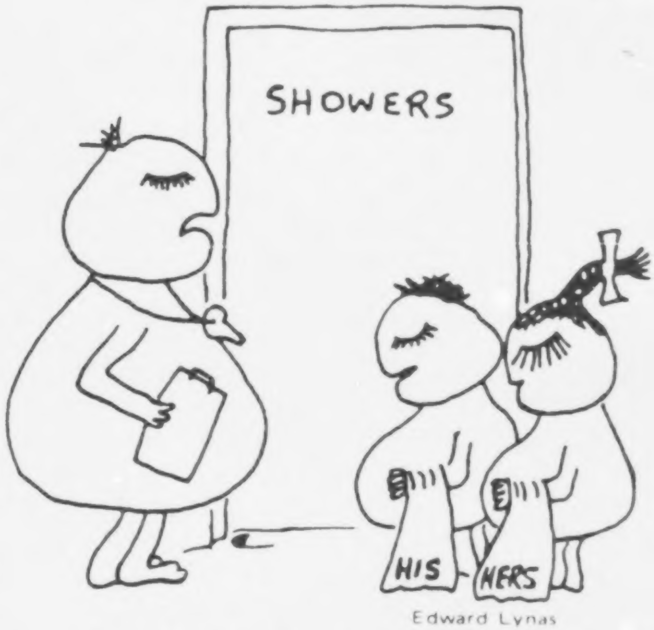
For Toronto trustees it was a major crisis. The Board would lose hundreds of thousands of dollars in provincial grants, the surplus teachers had to be kept on at least until the end of the first term, and a municipal election (trustees, like aldermen, are elected every two years) was coming up in December.

Some Toronto trustees accused the parish priests of harassing parents until they transferred their children; separate school trustees said parents had switched systems because they were just becoming aware of their right of choice.

The separate board said it would have to expropriate 30 houses to build new schools; Toronto trustees called this blackmail and claimed they were willing to share facilities as long as the arrangements didn't short-change the public school children.

As the bickering got worse Education Minister Thomas Wells stepped in and issued a toughly-worded statement. The two boards must co-operate in planning and sharing schools, he said, and the provincial government would pay no further school building costs until all existing classrooms were in use. He also appointed a study team to look into the problems of sharing facilities.

In early 1973 the two boards agreed on a sharing plan for Hughes and Pauline Avenue public schools. The plan included a relocatable school in the playground and the use of separated classrooms in the existing school. But by the summer of 1974 the arrangement at Hughes had broken down. Disagreements came over styles of supervision, over playground space, over the separate board using classrooms for grade 7 and 8 pupils in a kindergarten to grade 6 school, and over parking for teachers. And there was, of course, the much-publicized event of "the Catholic in the washroom".



That is NOT what the Minister means by 'shared use of educational facilities'

(Reprinted with permission from the Educational Courier.)

For the next two years the sharing question would consume many hours of committee and Board time. The 1974 and 1975 minutes of the Board include more than 40 entries devoted to discussions, reports, proposals, communications, and setting guidelines on the principle of sharing. They include an angry letter from the Minister of Education who felt the Board's response to the sharing guidelines was obstructionist. He wrote:

> *As a result of the actions of the Board in regard to sharing, the Minister has imposed a freeze, effective July 10, 1976, on all approvals for new school buildings or additions underway or proposed by the Toronto Board of Education.*

By the end of the year, however, things were more settled and the two boards were agreeing on "conceptual designs, financial arrangements, appointment of architects, and the legal aspects of sharing school accomodation."

Sharing is still a problem and new shifts in school population will require new agreements. In mid-July 1976 the Toronto Board's Associate Director, Ned McKeown, was writing still another report on the subject.

g) The Vocational School Crisis

In 1972 a school social worker prepared a report, based on a diary of personal experience, condemning the program and the staff attitudes at a Toronto vocational school. Her inflammatory comments came at a time when the Toronto Board of Eduation was undergoing a number of crises.

There were not only the political conflicts with the Ministry of Education, the Metro School Board, and the Separate School Board but a host of other problems related to the management and the curricula of the schools. There were community groups, like the Trefann Court Mothers from a low-income area, crying for some kind of recognition. There was constant criticism from local magazines like *Community Schools* which felt that many trustees and administrators were out of touch with the realities of life for school children in Toronto. There were the revelations of the Board's own research studies which showed that 40 percent of the children in Toronto schools came from homes in which the first language was not English, that a disproportionately large number of children from immigrant and low-income homes were being channelled into vocational schools, and that vocational school graduates were not usually working at jobs related to the training they had received.

Trustee Gordon Cressy, a community worker in his fourth year as a member of the Board, and a group of other trustees, felt that the charges in the social worker's document required more of a response than the standard administrative report defending the status quo and making piece-meal criticisms of those charges. What they asked for and got from the Board was approval to look into the whole question of vocational schools. They began their work early in February 1973.

Cressy became Chairman of what was called "The Work Group on Vocational Schools". The other trustees were James Bonham, a retired business executive and a past chairman of the Board, and four newly elected trustees who had been on the Board only since January 1, 1973 — Doug Barr, a social worker; Dan Leckie a student activist and community organizer; Vernon Copeland, a psychologist; and Dom Frasca, a teacher and representative of Separate School supporters, who had been born in Italy.

The staff members were James Williamson, Chief Co-ordinator of the Special Education Department, and Donald Rutledge, head of the Language Study Centre. The role of the staff members was to provide information and opinion based on their experience in the system and to make easier the group's access to schools and Board staff. Rutledge also became the writer-editor of the report.

Here one needs to understand what was meant by Vocational Schools, sometimes called Special Vocational Schools, in Toronto. These were schools that offered what are called Level 1 and 2 programs for students who were transferred there from grade 8 and were reading below a grade 5 standard. (In Ontario secondary schools, programs are classified by levels of difficulty. Level 5 generally leads to University, level 4 to Community College, and levels 1, 2, and 3 to job placement. By earning enough subject "credits" a student may get a secondary school graduation diploma at any of the 5 levels.) As originally set up the vocational schools were also segregated by sex, with three schools for girls and two for boys.

One of the first decisions the members of the Work Group made was to focus on the purpose and function of the existing vocational schools. While admitting that the controversial report was the impetus for the inquiry they did not intend either to single out individuals for blame or to do a white-wash job for the system. What they did look into was how the vocational schools were set up, what function they were serving in the system, how they were regarded by staff, students, parents, and others interested, and what recommendations might be made for their future.

At each vocational school the work group set up day-long meetings to include separate discussions with principals, teachers, students, secretaries, caretakers, psychologists, social workers, and anyone else working in the school. All staff and students were encouraged to visit the work group, but attendance was voluntary. In addition the work group held seven well-publicized public meetings in the vocational schools and at the Education Centre to receive briefs or hear presentations from interested groups and individuals. The Work Group also arranged special hearings with other groups such as Board psychologists and social workers, and the Ministry of Education.

Working at an intensive pace the work group completed its discussions and had its report ready to release on April 12, just over two months after it received its mandate from the Board.

The report had some frank things to say, such as its suggestion that the continuing development of vocational schools in Ontario was not so much the result of any philosophical decision about education as it was a way of taking advantage of huge sums of money available under the Federal Technical and Vocational Assistance Act. The suggestion about a lack of philosophical base was strongly disputed by those involved in the establishment of vocational schools in Toronto.

But the reasonable tone and the readable style of the report made it generally acceptable to both the public and the professionals. "There seems no point or honesty," says the report, "in condemning the efforts of teachers and students in vocational schools as they now exist. It would seem much more profitable to initiate long-range attempts at preventing the low achievement which leads to vocational school placement."

Among its 24 recommendations, nearly all of which have been implemented, were that one school in a working-class neighbourhood be closed down as a vocational school and re-opened as an academic secondary school; that one school — at the strong urging of staff, students and parents — remain an all-girls school; that the other three schools become coeducational and add level 3 programs; that the schools have work-experience programs and reading clinicians; that regular reviews be made of the school courses to make sure they are kept relevant to community needs and students' lives; that more information on secondary school choices be provided to all parents; and that the Board work more closely with parents and groups with a first language other than English.

The vocational school work group was important in two main ways — it led to some significant changes in the school system, and it gave a new direction to the decision-making process in the system. Chairwoman Judy Jordan wrote that the report "confirms the opinion of many of us that the work group is an effective vehicle for bringing about change and development in a public institution." She added that "the work group has become an effective catalyst for change and has set in motion ideas and events that may change our system in ways that we cannot now envisage."

Within the next three years similar work groups were to be set up to inquire into students' rights, the teaching of French, and the question of multiculturalism in the schools.

h) A Changing Style: Trustees

What the work group experience showed was that trustees could change the traditional ways in which decisions were made and at the same time make themselves more responsible to the people they represented. Before that, major Board decisions had been largely made on the basis of administrative reports that gave strong policy direction to the Board. The work group process put trustees in touch with the sources of information, allowed them to hear a variety of community opinion, and, in co-operation with staff, enabled them to make policy recommendations that would be generally acceptable.

The work group process was possible because of the new style of trustee that came on the scene in 1970. Three of the new 1970 trustess — each of them in their own way different in style and personality — were to become Board chairmen (or chairwomen): Judy Jordan (1973), an advocate of greater community involvement and diplomatic enough to maintain a delicate balance between old-line administrators and reform-minded trustees; Fiona Nelson (1974), a former teacher once fired then re-instated by the Board, who was adept at digging up information on her own; Gordon Cressy (1975-6), a social worker who headed the work group on vocational schools.

These and other trustees began pushing in 1970 for a broader base of decision-making in public education — a base that would include not only trustees and board officials but also teachers, principals, students, parents, and community groups. In 1972 they approved the decentralization of the school system into six administrative areas in order to make the system more responsive to community needs. A year later, they set up the work group on vocational schools.

In 1973 and again in 1975 more trustees with similar approaches came on the Board so that today the Toronto Board of Education is radically different from what it was in 1969. The average age of the 25 trustees is in the mid-30's, seven of them are women, and 15 of them work in teaching, social work, or related areas. Three are lawyers, one a skilled tradesman, and none are from business. In contrast the 1969 Board had an average age in the mid-50's, only three were women, eleven were from business, and none were social workers. Some observers say that what the present Board lacks is representation from business and industry and a diversity that reflects the cultural and racial composition of the city. (Four trustees are Jewish, one is black, two of Italian heritage, and two of Ukrainian heritage.)

The personal style of the new trustees is open and casual. Their leadership style runs more to dialogue and consensus than to oratory and directive. Their meetings tend to be less formal and structured and somewhat lacking in what used to be described as decorum. Their operative word is "involvement" and a number of them have offices or desks in the Education Centre. Several of them consider themselves full-time trustees, and there is regular communication between trustees and staff at all levels. They have learned that meeting at the round table achieves more than galloping full-tilt on the white charger.

Not all trustees are enthusiastic about this new style (it would be a strange — and unhealthy — situation to find 25 like-minded people on a public board) and some are often suspicious of what their fellow-trustees are up to in areas such as multiculturalism and community participation.

Their critics — both inside and outside the Board — say that there is a deadly earnestness in their approach that sometimes amounts to a kind of self-righteousness, that they have a tendency to re-invent the wheel, to be unaware of the Harry S. Truman dictum that "the only thing new in the world is the history we don't know." Their critics also say that some of these trustees have been insensitive to the role of the permanent staff. During the money crisis of 1974, for example, there was much talk of budget cutbacks and staff firings, and the consequent creation of a staff morale problem that still lingers in the system.

In summary, the new trustees are trying to open up the school system and make it more responsive to the needs of the 1970's They are concerned not just with giving lip-service to community involvement by listening to parents, teachers, and special delegations, but they are working with staff members to find ways for community groups and individuals to get more direct access to the system.

And they are doing things with a sense of personal commitment — the kind of commitment that makes a trustee like Dan Leckie work hard for an inquiry into multiculturalism and pursue it for two long years.

i) A Changing Style: Administrators

Walter James of the Board's Administrative Services tells a story from the 1950's of the dedication of one school principal to "established administrative procedures." In those days when there was a death in the family of a staff member it was the principal's duty to let Mr. James know, and if it was a weekend the principal was to telephone James' home.

One Saturday Mrs. James had answered three phone calls about deaths and when a fourth caller identified himself as a principal she blurted out: "Oh yes. Well, who's dead now?" After a few seconds silence the caller responded in hushed tones, "My mother."

In her embarrassment Mrs. James could only say: "Oh. And when did she die?" To which the answer came, "Ten minutes ago."

In 1976 it would be hard to imagine a principal so dedicated to the regulations and so lacking in perspective that almost the first thing he would do after his mother's death would be to inform the Board.

Probably the man who has done the most to loosen up the administration of the system is Duncan Green, the current

Director of Education. Just as the present Board Chairman, Gordon Cressy, typifies a new style of trustee so does Green represent a new kind of administrator. A writer in *Macleans*, a widely-read Canadian magazine, described him in these words:

> *We could all use a tooth fairy to believe in, and director Duncan Green is that: silver-haired, kindly eyed, unpretentiously well-groomed, and delightfully articulate. Duncan Green projects the perfect, comforting image . . . His image is conventional enough to be publicly acceptable — he's a church-going family man — yet radical enough to relate to a radical board.*

He is also a man who can combine a flair for the theatrical with what one of his critics has called his "disarming frankness". In 1973 at one of his first Board meetings as Director of Education some trustees were complaining that they didn't always know what was going on in the school system because the senior officials didn't tell them enough. In response Green said, "Madam Chairman, what I've been hearing sounds like a legitimate complaint from trustees. And it seems to me that the basis of this lack of communication and co-operation is that you, as trustees, don't trust us as administrators."

He let his words hang in the air a few seconds as the trustees nodded their heads as if to say, "Of course, that's the problem." Then he thrust out his face and with a dramatic twisting of the head, exclaimed, "And we — don't trust you."

That brief encounter was one of the incidents that led to the beginning of a new working relationship between trustees and administrators that is still developing. Part of its success is due also to the Associate Director, Dr. E. N. McKeown, who is a powerful advocate of the Board's position in dealing with other boards and organizations. He is the kind of get-things-done person who finds it more convenient to run up and down the stairs rather than use the elevators at the Education Centre. Green and McKeown work as a team and their complementary natures were described in that article in *Macleans* magazine:

> *Associate director Ned McKeown fills in the facts and statistics for Green's beautiful philosophizing. He and Green marry the concrete mind and the abstract, realist and idealist, mathematician and English teacher.*

Both Green and McKeown and other administrators have been involved in public confrontations with angry parents and community groups, some of them low-income mothers charging that the schools neglect their children, some of them immigrant parents saying that the schools create barriers between them and their children. Sometimes these meetings have been loud and melodramatic in nature and full of conflicting opinion, but they have been part of the process that has led senior administrators to a re-assessment of how they were doing things.

Over the past three years the working relationship between administrators and trustees has become more open and more flexible. It is no longer confined to committee meetings and formal reports but has become more of an interchange of information and opinion on almost a daily basis. It is a style of operation that calls for more discussion, more meetings, more documentation, more community opinion, more involvement of staff at all levels — all of which takes more time and often results in personal frustrations. The director acknowledges the untidiness of the system, the chaos that people live in, and the fact that some staff regard what is happening as an administrative sell-out. There is also the the feeling of some trustees that too close a relationship with administrators can work against getting things done.

But it is probably the kind of operation — given a successful blend of trustees and administrative personalities — that is needed for a school system to address itself to the special problems of the 1970's. In this connection we might quote from the report of the examiners from O.E.C.D. (the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) who did a study of the Canadian system of education in 1975. In commenting on the goals of education they had this to say:

> *The starting point for a reconsideration of the forms and processes of school governments should be recognition of the extent to which the school of 1975 is no longer the school of 1950. It is no longer an institution generated by a fairly restricted community receiving from it a clear mandate and organizing its education around a limited number of generally accepted fundamental values. Today the schools are situated at the intersection between the society of today and the society of tomorrow, something that does not yet exist and which no one can yet clearly define. In a very short period of time, the school has taken on new responsibilities and its role at the very centre of society has been considerably modified.*

j) A Changing Style: Teachers

At 8 o'clock on a cold January morning in 1976 Ted Gordon was standing on the picket lines with teachers in front of Oakwood Collegiate in Toronto. In a salary dispute with the Metro School Board, secondary school teachers in Toronto and other area boards were in the midst of a 8-week strike that would leave some bitter aftermaths. At 8:30 that morning Ted Gordon left the picket line and entered the school to spend the day at his job as Principal of Oakwood Collegiate.

That little scene illustrates one of the dilemmas of principals in the schools of Ontario. They are dues-paying members of the teachers' federations (as all teachers are required to be) and they are also administrators who run the schools for the school board. During the secondary school teachers' strike principals and vice-principals were required by law to be in the schools, but they showed their sympathies with the teachers' cause by donating 40 percent of their salaries to the strike fund and by visiting with them on the picket lines.

The strike itself — the first in the history of both the Toronto Board and the Metro Board — indicated something of the changing styles and attitudes of teachers.

At one time teachers were considered the conservatives of our society. They were usually conformists in dress and in habits, and those considered the best teachers ran well-organized, well-disciplined classrooms where students sat in permanent rows of desks and spoke up only when asked. A detailed curriculum laid out what they were to teach, and their teaching led to a set of final examinations that largely determined a student's success or failure. Within a structured, hierarchical system teachers were expected to demand respect from their students, and in turn to show deference to their principal, the provincial inspector, and the local trustee.

Now the system has changed to something more flexible, more ambiguous, more diffuse in its content and its goals. Whether teachers see these changes positively or negatively most of them agree with the statement made in a report published in the summer of 1976 by the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) entitled *At What Cost? (A Study of the Secondary Schools in Ontario)*:

> *Over the last 30 years the goals of education have changed frequently. With each change, little has been done to acquaint teachers with the new concepts or ways to implement them. Classroom teachers have*

> *seldom been involved in formulating philosophical change; change was imposed from above without adequate preparation of teachers or teacher-training institutions. Frequent drastic change has, in many schools, become the norm. Finally, application of the most recent innovative concepts has been made difficult by imposition of financial constraints without adequate long-term planning. The consequences have often been confusion over aims, contradictions between philosophy and practice, and lowering of teacher morale.*

During those years all the innovations in education have been tried somewhere in Toronto elementary and secondary schools — open-plan schools, team teaching, anecdotal report cards, alternative schools, the new mathematics, open-air eduation, language immersion, emphasis on socializing the child, a de-emphasis and then a re-emphasis on the basics of language and mathematics.

But if it is true that teachers have not always been consulted it is also true that teachers themselves have become more outspoken and more militant. In Toronto both the elementary and secondary teachers have representatives who attend Board and committee meetings. They know school law and education history, they present the teachers' point of view on the issues of the day, and they do not hesitate to challenge Board policy decisions.

Each elementary school has a staffing committee composed of the principal, teacher representatives elected by the staff, and a community representative. This committee determines the allocation of teachers in the school and in so doing can have an effect on what programs are emphasized. At the secondary school level a federation representative attends the meetings at which the secondary school principals discuss transfers and promotions of teachers within the system.

Even with this kind of involvement teachers find themselves more and more subject to conflicting demands — go back to the basics, but adopt more innovations; develop your own courses of study, but press for a standardized curriculum; listen more to what the students have to say, but give them more positive direction; re-instate the strap, but don't use corporal punishment.

During recent years teachers have demanded and received better salaries. In 1971, the average secondary teacher salary in Metro was $12,629. By 1976, this figure had risen to $22,472, an increase of 77.9% During the same period the consumer price index rose by some 48.1%, showing that while much of the gain was lost to inflation, there was a real increase in income. Part of that increase is also due to the fact that teachers have more professional qualifications than ever before.

Because of teachers' higher salaries and their outspokenness some people see them as more political, more militant, and less dedicated. But those who see teachers in a kindergarten class, in a school for the handicapped, on a field trip, at an athletic event, in a creative writing class, or with a group of immigrant children can not doubt that much dedication is still there.

NOTE: Average Salaries — classroom teachers

	Elementary	*Secondary*
1971-72	$ 9,231	$12,629
1976-77	$17,800	$22,472

The average salary figures for secondary classroom teachers were taken from the 1976 arbitration report of Justice C. L. Dubin. Comparable figures for the average salaries of elementary classroom teachers were obtained from the report of the Metropolitan Toronto School Board at the conclusion of negotiations in 1976.

PART IV

MOVING TOWARD MULTICULTURALISM

a) Can We Define It?

The interviews done for this report reveal more definitions of multiculturalism than there are letters in the word. Perhaps we could start by saying what multiculturalism is not.

It is not the old idea of the melting pot in which all are dumped and stirred until they lose their old language and their old ways and come out as something called American or Canadians. (Many people still believe, however, that after three or four generations the melting pot process will prevail.)

It is not New Canadianism in which the main concerns are to teach English to immigrants and to help them embrace a new culture.

It is not a single-minded clinging to the values of an older culture from which a person has come. (That older culture itself is changing and the ones who have left it — especially their children born in this country — must develop within the framework of a new society.)

It is not a cultural mosaic. A mosaic consists of many different sections, each usually of a different colour, shape, and size, each complete in itself and part of an over-all design. Between the sections lies a mortar of some kind that separates them and calls attention to their differences. Thus a cultural mosaic suggests many different cutlures existing side by side but with little interaction between them.

Perhaps we could accept the defintion, and the amplification of it, given in the first annual report of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism:

> *Multiculturalism may be viewed as the development of a consciousness of one's ancestral roots or ethnicity for creative purposes in the hope that a distinctive Canadian identity will emerge.*
>
> *The emphasis on creativity at the core of multiculturalism is an emphasis on cultural development as well as cultural preservation. In the past, the emphasis has been mainly on the preservation and the result has been much alienation of the young, who cannot readily identify with norms, institutions and customs imported from other parts of the world.*
>
> *Language is important . . . The better one under-*

> *stands the ancestral language, the deeper will be the understanding of a group's culture, and the stronger will be the creative base for the talent that exists.*

If we take that as a valid description of multiculturalism we might think of multiculturalism more as a woven fabric than a mosaic. Without trying to stretch the image to impossible lengths we might say that the warp of the fabric is the common Canadian denominator of the English (or, French) language, and the democratic and parliamentary traditions we have; the cross threads of different colours and textures are the many different cultural traditions becoming part of our society. The trouble with the fabric image is that once the fabric is woven the finished product is complete and static, whereas multiculturalism suggests something changing and developing with the changing mixtures in our society.

For a definition of multicultural education we quote the one given by the Chairwoman of the Ontario Ministry Committee on Multiculturalism, at a provincial seminar on multiculturalism held in October 1975.

> *It is an education in which the individual child of whatever origin finds not mere acceptance or tolerance but respect and understanding. It is an education in which cultural diversity is seen and used as a valuable resource to enrich the lives of all. It is an education in which differences and similarities are used for positive ends. It is an education in which every child has the chance to benefit from the cultural heritage of others as well as his or her own. It is an education for all who hope to live in the Canada of the future.*

b) The Threads of Multiculturalism

The early threads of multiculturalism in the Toronto school system may be mainly broken ones, but they are there.

In 1892 the Board of Education passed a regulation allowing Jewish children to be absent from school on Jewish holidays.

In 1902 special texts and courses for non-English-speaking pupils were adapted from those used in schools in Pennsylvania.

In 1914 representatives from the Ontario Department of Education visited the elementary schools in Cincinnati, Ohio, and came back with words of praise for an optional course in German held each afternoon for German-speaking students.

But with the start of World War I it was impossible to give such a course in Toronto.

In 1913 and 1914 the "steamer classes" mentioned in Part III were being operated in five schools in central Toronto. And about the same time Ida Siegel was running her Saturday classes in Yiddish and Italian that led to her being accused of teaching Bolshevism in Toronto schools.

Commenting on this era in their book, *Immigrants*, authors Robert Harney and Harold Troper have this to say:

> *. . . the teacher, missionary, visiting nurse and social worker regarded Canadianization as a process with one clearly identifiable goal — the moulding of a new man out of an Old World clay. Within one generation, two at most, the assimilationist believed immigrants would be Canadianized and their strange ways be only memory.*
>
> *In part they were right; it was unavoidable that children of foreigners should look beyond the home, beyond their parents, for visions of tomorrow. With formal education the Italian, Jewish, Finnish, Hungarian, Ukrainian, or Greek child was promised a chance to grow up as a Canadian. Social workers and educators sincerely believed, and children were repeatedly told, that Cinderella was not a fairy tale — it was the essence of a New World dream.*
>
> *Yet, for many the sense of being a Canadian has not meant either melting pot or Anglo-conformity. It has meant the development of Canadian life in which traditional immigrant roots, family customs and religious beliefs have not been masked away but refined to complement a changing Canadian way.*

According to Toronto Board archivist,Donald Nethery, it is impossible to find Board records of anything that suggest much more than assimilation and English language instruction. Area Superintendent Harry Monkman, who has been in the Toronto system for 43 years, says people should remember that the Board has been involved in immigrant education for a long time and that sensitive teachers in the 1940's and 1950's were aware of the culture shock suffered by immigrants and adjusted their teaching program, both in the day schools and in the night schools, to assist them.

Probably the only generalization we can make is that less was done than should have been done, but more was done than the records show. And there was certainly an awareness of the problem. The Board's director of education, Duncan

Green, sometimes quotes Archie Morgan, Superintendent of Secondary Schools in the early 1960's, who once remarked that we take a person who is fluent in one language, try to teach him English and French and end up with someone who is illiterate in three languages. And in those 1960's some principals, without official approval, were inviting people from their communities to come into their schools and talk with the children in their first language.

But the first real recommendations approaching what we now conceive as multiculturalism came in that research report of 1962 — *A survey of pupils learning English as a second Language in the City of Toronto public schools* — a report that was prepared by the Research Department in co-operation with the Public School Principals' Association. In a section on the implications of the survey results the report says:

> *It would seem advisable to initiate a pilot project aimed at uniting school and community in the common tasks of English-language learning . . . It would also seem advisable to initiate a pilot project concerned with the conservation of first languages in the school. This latter project must not be conceived as a replacement for English-language instruction but could form a basis for expanding the English program as well as the first-language powers already extant.*

But the suggestion was not to be officially pursued by the Toronto school system and it would lie buried in that research report until it was revived ten years later.

Meanwhile, through the late 1960's and the early 1970's, forces were at work that would make the concept of multiculturalism a realizable goal for the Toronto Board of Education.

c) Forces at Work

Some of those forces working for multiculturalism have already been described in the sections on the Toronto school system in the 1970's. In listing them here we are aware it is the combined effect of these forces that makes change possible:

- The traditional role of the Toronto Board of Education as one of the leaders in educational change in Ontario.
- The distance in time from the Depression years when there was widespread antagonism to "cheap immigrant labour" and the years of World War II when war propaganda created na-

tional stereotypes, especially of Germans, Italians, and Japanese. From 1930 to 1945 a concept like multiculturalism could hardly be considered.

- The steady influx of immigrants to Canada over the past 25 years up to 1974. (Since then there has been a decline in immigration — 218,000 in 1974; 188,000 in 1975; and fewer than 150,000 expected in 1976. This is part of the federal government's response to a difficult economic situation and declining job opportunities in Canada.)
- The pressures on the Board from "ethnic" community groups for a bigger voice in how schools are run and what goes into the curriculum. Some of these groups were developing a new pride in themselves and at the same time openly voicing their concerns about the school system.
- The ground work done by teachers and others in the system. Many programs have been in operation for years and, though they may not be strictly multicultural, they do make it easier for the transtion to a multicultural approach.
- The new style of trustee — more active, more involved, more eager to work with administrators and with community groups.
- The development of the work-group style of operation bringing together trustees, principals, teachers, administrators and community groups, and taking time to listen to what people have to say.
- The new style of administrator — more open and more flexible, and less concerned with personal status and administrative hierarchies.
- The direct communication links between trustees and staff members. No longer does a trustee speak to a staff person only through the divine intercession of the Director.
- The 1975 Ontario Ministry of Education guidelines that say children should be given opportunities in school to learn something of the culture they come from and to begin to understand the points of view of cultural groups other than their own.
- The endorsement of the concept of multiculturalism by provincial and federal governments.

Four examples of current activities that began in the early 1970's as a result of combinations of some of these forces are described in the following pages.

d) A Transition Program

In September 1973 the children entering a junior kindergarten class at General Mercer Public School were greeted with the words "Ciau, veni; ciau, veni". Instead of the usual welcome of "Hello, come on in," they were hearing the familiar sounds of the Italian they heard every day in their own homes.

These children were part of an experimental Italian-transition program designed to run for the two years of junior and senior kindergarten. At first the teacher speaks mainly Italian to the children, then English is introduced gradually until by the third year of school (i.e. grade 1) the pupils are ready to enter a regular program where they begin to read and write in English.

This program was a modification of a proposal from Tony Grande, a Toronto teacher who had come from Italy when he was 11 years old. Grande's original proposal had called for the introduction of reading and writing in the child's mother tongue. But in Ontario the Education Act says that no languages other than English or French are to be used for purposes of instruction.

And it was to take more than two years of memos, discussions, and redrafting of the proposal involving administrators, trustees, the Board's New Canadian Committee, and the Ministry of Education, before the modified program actually began.

By that time the Board had adopted a set of guidelines "for consideration of proposals for instruction in foreign languages other than English and French at the elementary school level." Any program was to be a co-operative venture of school and community, with the communities providing volunteers to conduct the programs. There was to be no increase or dislocation of staff, and no special budgets or facilities without the approval of the Board. All programs were subject to the approval of the Ministry of Education.

The Board also outlined a method for the operation of the transition program proposed by Mr. Grande.

— a bilingual teacher to instruct the children for two years, and a bilingual lay assistant to remain with the children for two years.

— the children to be of similar linguistic and cultural background, and the ethnic community to be involved in the operation of the program.

— oral instruction to be in the children's mother tongue initially.

— a research component to be part of the program.

— the regular pupil-teacher ratio to be maintained in the junior kindergarten.
— the program to be of a developmental nature.
— ethnic resource materials to be used, such as books and films at a minimal budget increase.

After the Ministry approved a two-year pilot project, General Mercer Public School was chosen as the school and Italian as the language of instruction.

In reporting what went on in the classroom the two researchers, Mary Purbhoo and Stan Shapson, had this to say:

> *In the classroom, one language was never heard for long before another was used. A child might begin a thought in English, then switch to Italian, if the words weren't coming fast enough, or vice versa. For example, after the teacher finished reading a story, one girl requested, "Let's . . . uh, let's leggere again." . . . "Rosso" and "red" would be heard simultaneously whenever the colour name was called for, whether the request had come in English or Italian.*
>
> *The teacher's use of the language depended very much on the individual she was speaking with. She might ask a question of the whole class in Italian, receive an answer in English, and then continue in English with that individual, or begin in English and change to Italian.*

But the program was not without its share of criticism. Writing about it just after it got under way Toronto education critic Loren Lind, in his book, *The Learning Machine (a hard look at Toronto schools)*, called it "a token program" (compared to what Tony Grande originally wanted). And one trustee representing separate school supporters, said, "I think they introduced the program to reduce the number of transfers to the separate schools in the neighbourhood." But at the end of the two year pilot project the researchers were able to say:

> *The children have not suffered either academically or in English language comprehension. Their self-images are not inferior and, keeping the first year's results in mind, may even be healthier. Their classroom behaviour is typical of that shown by other kindergarten children. The class was fun to be with.*
>
> *The most important effects may have been those of the first few months when the children were not suddenly faced with a novel environment combined with an unfamiliar language. Their cultural and linguistic*

> *backgrounds were acknowledged and accepted in the classroom.*

To this the school principal, Marlene Risk, adds that she is convinced that "the program contributes to more effective communication between the parents and teachers."

The research report (dated October 1975) ends on a double note of caution and optimism:

> *An experimental program of any kind often creates more questions than it answers. The transition program at General Mercer is no exception.*
>
> *Some of the benefits or drawbacks of the program may not emerge until later in the children's school career. For example, the effects of isolating one language group in the classroom for two years cannot yet be assessed. Whether or not the program has helped to alleviate some of the academic difficulties or reduce the number of pupils dropping out of school also cannot be determined until much later.*
>
> *However, this research study has already shown us that the transition model does work for kindergarten students; it can successfully introduce the culturally different child and his parents to our educational system. General Mercer is already repeating the program with a new group of students.*

e) A Chinese-Canadian Bi-Cultural Program

In two public schools in mid-town Toronto, Orde and Ogden, more than 90 percent of the children are of Chinese origin. In the early 1970's the parents of these children began speaking out on the communication gap widening between them and their children — the children were more and more talking in English and were becoming part of a new culture that seemed to be rejecting the older culture of their parents. There were after-school Chinese classes in the community but they made much extra work for the children and were too expensive for most families.

With the help of community workers the parents began organizing and agitating for the school system to do something for them. What they wanted basically was a program, within the context of the school, that would help their children accept and appreciate the Chinese language and culture.

Again the problem for the Toronto Board of Education was that teaching in a language other than English or

French at the elementary school level was against the regulations of the Ontario Ministry of Education. The Board's Superintendent of Curriculum and Program, Mitchell Lennox, had been wrestling with this problem in other forms such as the Italian-transition program and requests from Greek-speaking parents. The trick was to devise a program that would not use Chinese as the language of instruction and one that would not displace teachers or commit the Board to extra costs.

What was evolved was called a Chinese-Canadian bi-cultural program, that is, one that would help the children understand the culture and language of Canada, and at the same time help them develop a feeling for the culture and language of their Chinese origin.

The support of the Board for this kind of program was stated in a document prepared for the Ministry of Education by two men soon to be heavily involved in the work group on multiculturalism — trustee Dan Leckie and administrator Mel LaFountaine. Called *Rationale for Chinese-Canadian Bicultural/Bilingual Programs at Orde and Ogden Public Schools* the document said the programs would have two advantages.

> *The existence of such a program in the school would place a recognition of the integrity and worth of the Chinese culture within the child's frame of reference. Secondly, to the older generation, the existence of such a program would represent compatibility between the home and school . . . rather than a cultural competition for their children's allegiance. The single function alone of the school as the instrument of communication maintenance . . . between the parent and the child is worth all the effort the school, the Board of Education, and the Provincial Ministry of Education can muster to establish the program.*

The program was finally approved by both the Toronto Board and the Ministry of Education, and it began in September 1974. It was run by the Chinese Parents' Association of the two schools and its direct costs (teachers, supplies, etc.) were paid by the Association from funds they got from government grants and other grants and donations. In its first year about 300 students, including a few not of Chinese background (one of the stipulations of this kind of program is that it be open to all students who want it), enrolled in the program. That number represents about two-thirds of the children in the two schools.

The program has two co-ordinators, one community worker, and three teachers, and the students are withdrawn from regular classes for half an hour a day. Courses of study were prepared after some consultation with the permanent staff of the two schools and were approved by both the Board and the Ministry of Education.

The program was first established on a one-year experimental basis and was evaluated at the end of that time. For the evaluation the Board's Research Department prepared three sets of questionnaires — for students, teachers, and parents. All parents with children in the program received questionnaires and over 85 percent returned them to the schools — 108 responding in Chinese and 59 in English.

In summarizing the results of the evaluation the research report says:

> *Most students, parents, and teachers agreed that the Chinese program was successful in making students more aware of Chinese culture. In general, parents (especially Chinese-responding parents) were the most positive. Students were generally satisfied, but . . . a number of students, especially the older ones, were bored with much of what went on in the program. Teachers also seemed to be relatively satisfied with the program, although many were critical about the content and structure of the program as well as the teaching methodology used.*

One frequent comment by teachers was that the program gave children an unrealistic picture of Chinese life. One teacher compared it to "teaching people that Canadians live in tents made of animal skins and that they hunt, fish, and trade furs."

(A similar bicultural program is run by the Greek-Canadian community in two schools, Frankland and Jackman, in the eastern part of Toronto. Children of Greek heritage are the largest group in both schools but their percentages are less than half the total school population. These programs involved more community opposition and confrontation before they were agreed upon.)

f) The Young Black Immigrant

Ten years ago Toronto could shake its head self-righteously at the racial problems in big American cities and say to the world, "It can't happen here."

One of the main reasons it wasn't happening then was the small number of black residents in the city, probably less than one percent of the population. The racial discrimination that did exist was so isolated and involved such few people that it didn't become a large or continuing issue. That didn't make it any less searing an experience for those suffering from it. Roy Johnston, a trustee on the Toronto Board for the past five years, and Wilson Brooks, a public school principal, remember when black young men were denied admittance to some public dance halls. "One time," says Johnston, "they wouldn't let us in, but they let in a drunk who had just vomited all over himself."

Today the numbers are different, with an estimated 120,000 black people in Metropolitan Toronto. Mainly they have come in the last decade from the West Indies, Guyana, and Trinidad. There are also some black Americans and black immigrants from other countries. (Black people whose families have been in Canada for two or more generations are sometimes assumed to be immigrants.)

The main challenge for the school system centres around the black students from the Caribbean. They speak English but sometimes their dialect and their rhythms of speech are difficult for other Canadians to understand. And they have the same basic problem as other immigrant groups — the school system doesn't understand the Black community and the Black community doesn't understand the school system.

In the fall of 1973 Mel LaFountaine, who had been working in a school-community liaison role reporting to the Director of Education, arranged a meeting between the Brotherhood Community Centre Project and the Director and some of his senior staff involved in New Canadian programs. The B.C.C.P. was a liaison and co-ordinating group associated with 38 black organizations throughout the Metro Toronto area. The discussion revealed some broad areas of concern for the black community — the absence of Black Studies in school curricula; the culture and language problems of West Indian black students; and the lack of communication and understanding between the black community and a complex school system.

As a direct result of that meeting the black community began to have regular contact with the school system, and by the time the work group on multiculturalism was set up in 1974 members of the black community were already expressing their concerns not only about cultural and language problems but about racism in the schools. And they were able to help the work group members crystallize some of their thinking on the issue of system sensitivity.

In that period came the formation of a Black Liaison Committee made up of Black educators, social and community workers, and representatives from the Toronto Board of Education. The committee's job was "to improve the understanding of the Toronto school system by black parents and students, and the understanding by school officials of the educational needs and concerns of the black community." Among other things it asked the Board to develop booster programs to upgrade basic academic skills and to begin English-as-a-second-dialect programs. It also prepared an information brochure — published by the Toronto Board — advising black parents on enrolling their children in Toronto schools and outlining some basic facts about schooling in Toronto.

Later the committee felt that the philosophy and recommendations of the Work Group on Multiculturalism were in line with what it wanted. And even before the work group's final report was written the Board had hired a consultant on the West Indies, had increased its staff of ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers and consultants, and its ESL Department was developing booster programs and English-as-a-second-dialect programs.

Another development — some might attribute this to the work group's call for more sensitivity in the system, while others will say it would have come without the work group — is the decision of the Toronto Public School Principals' Association to hold its 1976 conference in Jamaica, so principals can visit schools, talk to education officials, and generally get a better understanding of one large group of black immigrant children in Toronto.

No one is naive enough to think all problems are solved and all confrontations ended. In the summer of 1976 in an east-central area of Toronto known as Regent Park gangs of white youths and gangs of black youths roamed the streets smashing windows and intimidating residents. It was a one-night fiasco, but it showed what tensions are still in the air and what potential there is for outbursts at any time.

In certain Toronto schools the racial tensions are obvious. Black students describe the attitudes of some staff and white students as racist, while teachers accuse some black students of reverse racism ("Don't bother me or I'll yell discrimination.")

Roy Johnston comments on this situation: "Yes, I have heard of school principals who have not treated black kids the same way as whites for breaking the rules. If the parents come to the school he is conscious of being attacked as a racist and will start backpeddling and then the more racist he appears. The public perception is different now from what it was. But I keep telling them to stop apologizing for being white.

I think I will feel that the change has come when I don't feel uncomfortable when I see a black lady who is drunk on the subway, when crimes committed by blacks don't cause me special pain. When black mothers don't work extra hard, as my mother did, to keep the kids clean, cleaner than the white kids."

g) The Biggest Reserve

In May 1976, on a reserve in southern Alberta, a Piegan Indian named Nelson Small Legs pointed a rifle at his chest and shot himself through the heart.

Nelson Small Legs was no ordinary citizen. At 23 years of age he was the dynamic young leader of the American Indian movement in southern Alberta. But he felt so strongly about the injustices suffered by his people that he decided to kill himself to draw attention to their cause.

A week later an eloquent Indian lawyer, 34 year-old Leroy Little Bear, spoke in Toronto at the public hearings on the Mackenzie Valley pipeline. This is the pipeline planned to carry oil from the far north to the cities and industries of the southern part of Canada. As a prelude to his arguments that the Mackenzie Valley lands still belonged to the Indians through the doctrine of aboriginal rights Little Bear spoke graphically of how the Indian way of looking at things is different from that of those raised in the traditions of Western society.

"A good example," he said, "is Western society's concept of time. If one attempted to picture time in his mind he would see something like a river flowing towards and on past him. What is behind is the past. What is immediately around him is the present. The future is upstream . . . A length of time is envisioned as a row of similar units . . . Once a unit of the river of time flows past it is gone forever . . . Each unit of time is totally different and independent of similar units. Each day is considered a different unit, and thus a different day. Everyday a new day, every year a new year.

Many native people think in terms of cyclicity. Time is not a straight line. It is a circle. Every day is not a new day but the same day repeating itself. There is no need to name each day a different name. You need only one name: day."

These two separate but related incidents speak to us in the year 1976 of the continuing injustices and misunderstandings that are the Indian's lot in our society. Most Canadians have tended to be rather smug about the history of their treatment of the Indians. We self-righteously say that we settled the West in relative peace, we had no policy of destroying the buffalo to force the Plains Indians into submission (we let the U.S.Army do it for us), we did not forcibly remove tribes from their ancestral homelands, we were guilty of no massacres like Wounded Knee. We find it hard to admit that it was all an accident of geography — there are large chunks of this country no one wanted to settle, and there was no moving frontier in Canada as in the United States where the tide of settlement rolled steadily westward all through the nineteenth century.

Within the City of Toronto Indians have never been a "problem" simply because they have not been visible in any numbers. But in the last decade Indians have been moving into Metro Toronto and today the Indians themselves say that Toronto is the biggest Indian reserve in Canada. The remark is made half-facetiously, but the current estimate is a population of 20 to 25 thousand. One of the difficulties with numbers is that some don't identify themselves as Indians, and once off a reserve they are no longer recognized by the Canadian government as "treaty" or "status" Indians. (Estimates of the number of Indians in Canada vary from half a million to three quarters of a million.)

In 1971 a study project called *Indians in the City* showed that native peoples migrating to the city were having a tough time making the transition from rural to urban life. As one response to the problem a group evolved under the name Ahbenoojeyug, an Ojibwa word for children. And the first regular contact with the Toronto Board of Education came when they were looking for space to run an after-school program. They got it in Eastdale Collegiate and they've been there ever since.

About the same time a native committee concerned with communication between native and non-native people began making quiet overtures to libraries and school systems around Toronto. With the help of Dr. Stewart Wilson, a Toronto Board psychologist, and Mel LaFountaine, they began discussions with people in the Toronto system.

The committee, with the cumbersome name of the Ad Hoc Committee on Cross Cultural (Native and Non-Native) Communication, is less structured than other similar committees. Its chairman, Mrs. Wilma Skinner, an Iroquois woman who teaches public school in North York, says the native people want a two-way flow of communication. They want to make sure Indians are depicted fairly in the curriculum and they also want to offer themselves as resources. But they don't want tokenism in the curriculum — "This week we do Indians" — and they don't want the kind of patchwork effort that adds an Indian song here and an Indian legend there. What they want is an understanding of their history, their attitudes, their current problems. And they know that such understanding takes time.

They don't want to push too hard and too fast. They're pleased with the steady gains that are being made — they have the blessing of Associate Director Ned McKeown to approach administration staff for help, they have been meeting with curriculum head, Don Rutledge, and the subject co-ordinators, and they have received a grant of $500 from the Board to help publicize and organize their meetings. (That last item was passed by the Board in June 1976 by a vote of 10 to 6. Those opposing it did so on the basis that the Ad Hoc Native Committee was a community organization not specifically related to schools in the Toronto system and its support should properly come from municipal and other sources.)

Meanwhile the Ministry of Education has produced a resource guide for teachers known as PONA — People of Native Ancestry. And this year the Ministry will release a curriculum guide in Native Studies for grades 7 to 10. In 1977 for the first time in Ontario secondary schools Native Studies will be an optional credit course.

There is a long way to go but efforts are being made to help restore the dignity of the Indians as Canada's original people.

PART V

THE FOCUS ON MULTICULTURALISM

a) The Work Group

Some of the programs already outlined indicate a school system moving toward a form of multiculturalism. But some trustees felt that these programs would remain isolated — and perhaps serve only as tokenism — unless they existed as part of a broad Board policy on multiculturalism. And it was the work group on multiculturalism that was to give focus to the whole question of what the school system should be.

Among the events, most of them inter-related, that helped create a climate for the kind of broad inquiry the work group was to conduct, were these:

i) The 1970 research report, *Every Student Survey*, showing that the children most handicapped by the Toronto school system were recent immigrants of non-British origin who came from low-income homes.

ii) The feeling of many principals, teachers, and consultants that the cultural immersion philosophy of New Canadianism was not really understood, that it wasn't given enough resources to make it work, that it neglected the student's own cultural background, and that in many cases it had become little more than the old assimilation process.

iii) The work of the vocational school work group (1973) whose report included the statement:
"It is evident . . . that much good-will exists toward the Toronto Board for its efforts to educate New Canadians. It is just as evident, however, that some immigrant groups feel that our understanding of their problems has been less than complete."

iv) The community groups, encouraged by local activists, who were challenging the curricula and the methods of the schools and were no longer content to sit back passively and let the school system operate as it saw fit. One of these was a group of Italian-speaking and Portuguese-speaking parents in the west central part of the City who had become increasingly frustrated by the failure of some schools to relate to parents and students from non-English-speaking homes. They were challenging the schools on the issues of streaming, and they were demanding courses in the students' first language and the hiring of teachers who spoke the languages of the majority of the students.

All these things showed trustees and administrators that something had to be done. The specific event that led to the formation of the Work Group was an April 17, 1974 meeting of the Board's New Canadian Committee, called to discuss the re-assignment of the permanent staff of Main Street School, which was being demolished. The Board's administrative staff wanted to re-assign the staff and students in the Main Street Reception program to a number of school-based centres in the east end of the city. But students, parents, and graduates objected to this, and the staff and the program were transferred intact to Greenwood Secondary School. Out of the discussion at that meeting came a resolution that the Chairman of the Board "convene a committee of teachers, trustees, parents, administrative personnel, and the students immediately, to study the philosophy and programs that will be adopted by the Board towards the New Canadian students."

Five weeks later the new committee brought its recommendations to the Board, the first of which was that the committee be renamed "the Work Group on Multicultural Programs". The switch in focus indicated by the name change from "New Canadian" to "Multicultural" was reinforced by a statement of the Work Group's terms of reference:

i) To investigate and explore the philosophy and programs related to the city's multicultural population. This must include consultation and involvement with staff, students, parents, and the community at large.

ii) To examine current practices related to the operation of the Board's multicultural programs.

iii) a. To recommend to the Board long-range policy related to philosophy and programs.
b. To recommend to the Board implementation procedures for the above.
c. To consider the financing and structural needs determined by the proposed policy.

The trustee members of the work group as finally constituted were Dan Leckie, Chairman, who came on the Board in 1973 and had been a member of the Vocational School Work

Group; two others who had served since 1973 — Irene Atkinson and Sheila Meagher; and three trustees who came on in 1975 — Alex Chumak, Judith Major, and Frank Nagle (representing Separate School Supporters). Staff members were Mel LaFountaine who had articulated the philosophic base for the New Canadian program; Ed Kerr, a public school principal; and, on a contract basis, Ceta Ramkhalawansingh, a writer and university lecturer. (A number of other trustees with the Work Group in its early stages had to withdraw either because of the pressures of other responsibilities or because they were no longer on the Board in 1975.)

b) The Bias of Culture

The issue paper that gave direction to the inquiry into multiculturalism was called *The Bias of Culture*. Its thesis, in very simple terms, is that for historical reasons the Toronto school system operates from the biases of a middle-class White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture in its curriculum, teaching, and organization. The problem is that the school population is now pluralistic in its makeup and the biases of a generation ago are no longer acceptable to most of its students and their parents.

The Bias of Culture outlined ten general issues related to this situation:

1. The issue of *Cultural Identity* in both the children and the adults of ethnic communities of other than Anglo-Canadian origin:
    a. The inherent competition for a child's cultural allegiance;
    b. The implications of language differences between the home and the school;
    c. The impact of cultural difference on the child.
2. The issue of *Streaming*, and
3. The School's Reception and Placement of the New Canadian student.
4. The question of *Ascription* which shapes decisions as to the placement and subsequent school and life careers of immigrant children.
5. The issue of *Teachers' and School Principals' Perception* of the New Canadian student.
6. The issue of *Extra Anglo-Canadian Ethnic Groups' Perception* of the local school and, by extension, the school system.

7. The nature and character of the *Schools' Contact with Extra Anglo-Canadian Ethnic Communities.*
8. The character, organization and operational function of the *School System's Support Services.*
9. *Extra Anglo-Canadian Ethnic Teachers* in the school system and their promotion to positions of responsibility.
10. The issue of multicultural programs in the school and assumptions and questions about *Ghetto-ization.*

For the Work Group the issue paper represented "the beginning of a broad inquiry into the entire question of providing maximum educational opportunities for the many diverse ethnic populations in the city". It was prepared in October 1974 and revised six months later as the inquiry went on and issues became clearer for the Work Group. It was published basically for the professional community, but available to anyone on request.

c) How the Work Group Operated

Right from the start the work group decided to operate through a broad consultation process. It saw its first responsibility as opening lines of communication "with both the community at large and all parts of the school system in order to establish a firm and extensive consultation basis for its deliberations."

In addition to the issue paper, *The Bias of Culture*, the group prepared a number of written documents including (i) a general statement on the Board's programs for New Canadians for distribution to all schools, trustees, support-service staff, and community groups and individuals identified through the records of earlier work groups; (ii) a document for ethnic communities with questions about their educational needs and the Board's relationship with them, and an invitation to consult with the work group; (iii) a similar document for Board staffs posing questions about their role as educators in a multicultural society.

The work group received 128 written submissions — 35 from elementary schools, 22 from secondary schools, 28 from the central office, and 43 from the community (including 13 ethnic communities). Of these, 31 came to the work group to discuss their submissions, and 11 others who had no written briefs came to make oral presentations.

The group made 24 formal visits to schools and countless informal visits when one or more members were invited to discuss specific programs or problems. The group also went to the meetings of many ethnic groups for "listening-in" sessions. Their purpose was "to permit the work group to listen to ethnic groups discuss the issue of multiculturalism and education but not to participate in the actual discussion."

The work group also got the close co-operation of community youth groups who had government grants to work on specific projects in ethnic communities. By taking an issue the work group was addressing itself to and relating it to the communities they were working in these young people often gave the work group new insights into the problems in those communities.

In addition the work group had many informal talks and meetings with teaching and non-teaching staff, and had wide-ranging interviews, correspondence, and discussions with government officials, Board departments, area superintendents, and others. The work group also reserved Monday mornings for its own discussions of the existing literature on multiculturalism and the massive amounts of material it was receiving.

In dealing with the various communities in the city the work group made the decision not to invite people to sit with them as representatives or spokesmen for their communities, but to consult directly with as many groups and individuals as possible within each community. In this way they were better able to involve more people and to catch more shades and varieties and conflicts of opinion.

There was another advantage — for both the community groups and the work group — in this kind of consultative process. As the community groups raised questions and discussed issues among themselves and with the work group they came to see that, through getting the right kind of information and through access to the trustees and administrators, they themselves could have a voice in school Board decisions being made about their children's schooling. And when they looked at some of the final recommendations of the work group they could see that these were not institutional ideas being forced on them but the results of the consultations they had had. They could see, in fact, that they had become part of the decision-making process. And in that process they had developed certain skills and awarenesses that would help them in dealing with other public agencies.

d) The Work Group Reports

One of the work group's first discoveries was that the submissions received could not be analyzed and organized into neat categories everyone would agree with. But they did find consensus on two basic issues: first, the new Canadian child should learn English as soon as possible and be integrated into the mainstream of the school system as soon as possible; second, this should not involve the sacrifice of his or her cultural integrity.

The work group published a 230-page Draft Report on May 20, 1975. Under eight "core issues" the report outlines what the group learned in the consultation process and makes a number of recommendations related to each issue. These issues are:

— English as a second language
— educational opportunity deficiencies
— maintenance of original cultures and languages
— the third language
— multiculturalism and the curriculum
— system sensitivity
— community-school relations
— the responsibilities of senior governments.

The Draft Report was written as the culmination of a year of study and consultation and as a document that tried to crystallize the issues and suggest directions for the school system. On the basis of the report the Board passed on June 19, 1975 a total of 58 recommendations establishing a new philosophical base for the teaching of English as a second language, providing booster programs for New Canadian children needing them, and setting up a School-Community Relations Department to co-ordinate on a city-wide basis the development of school-community relations. These were the areas that were the least contentious of the issues raised by the work group and also the ones with the greatest urgency for the school system.

The draft report also gave community groups and individuals, and people in the system, a concrete document they could respond to. It started a whole new process of consultation involving 14 public hearings and the presentation of another 114 oral and written submissions. On the basis of these responses the work group prepared a Final Report published on February 12, 1976. It contained 99 recommendations under five headings — The New Canadian, Multiculturalism and Education, System Sensitivity, School Community Relations, The Responsibilities and Role of Senior Governments.

The final report did not outline problems and suggest solutions but made specific recommendations that, on the basis of its consultations, the work group felt should be implemented as Board policy. It used *The Bias of Culture* and *The Draft Report* as its frame of reference, and anyone really interested in the inquiry into multiculturalism in the Toronto school system must read all three documents.

On March 16, 1976 the Board passed 92 recommendations based on the work groups recommendations. Taken with the recommendations passed in June, 1975, they represent a Board policy that turns the school system in the direction of multiculturalism.

e) The Implementation Process

From the beginning the work group knew that changes would continue to take place in the school system during their inquiry. There was never any suggestion that they were launching a two-year study during which the school system would stand still and at the end of which it would be given a traumatic wrench toward multiculturalism.

The very fact that a work group was conducting a broad inquiry created a kind of fall-out effect. Many groups like the native people and the black community found easier access to the system and many programs like the bicultural program for Chinese-Canadians seemed to get a greater impetus.

One of the results of interaction between the work group and students and teachers in one elementary school was a film *Between Two Worlds* made by teacher Linda Schuyler and her students. The theme of the film was related to one of the basic issues of the work group study — the problems of those caught between two cultures. The film was not suggested by the work group, but it was the response one group made to questions and issues the work group raised in the school. In the past year the film has been widely circulated both inside and outside the system and many who have seen it say it helps increase the sensitivity the work group was concerned about.

Once the work group's Final Report was published the Director of Education set up a number of staff committees to estimate costs and determine when certain recommendations could be implemented. These were consolidated by the Director into an implementation report that went to the Board.

To make sure that the implementation process would continue after the work group was dissolved, the Board, at the work group's urging, set up a committee to monitor the implementation of those recommendations passed by the Board, to convey recommendations to appropriate agencies, and to consider issues relating to New Canadian students and multicultural programs as they arise.

PART VI

WHAT THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IS DOING

a) A Time of Transition

In 1972 the city was divided into six administrative areas, each with its superintendent, a small administrative staff, and a group of consultants serving the area but also relating to the central curriculum department. In the summer of 1976 the Board passed 40 recommendations rising out of a report by a decentralization study team. The team, made up of four trustees and three senior staff members, based its report on a study (*The Administration of the Toronto School System*) prepared by an outside consultant and on responses to that study from within and without the system.

Some of the key recommendations had to do with the role of the principal and the issue of community involvement. A few edited excerpts from the Board minutes for July 29, 1976, suggest the direction the system is moving in.

- It is the objective of the Board that each school and its community be so related and structured that school issues will be resolved at that level. Each principal (should) prepare in consultation with ward trustees and parents' groups, school staff, and student councils, a program for increasing parental involvement in the school.
- During the month of September or October, in each year, the principal and ward trustees are to call a meeting of all parents and others interested to (a) explain the Board's policy encouraging community involvement; and (b) determine the feasibility of constituting a school-community council or a parent group.
- The principal is to produce a basic accountability and leadership document in the form of an annual report including information on the costs of running the school, the school's program, its achievements, its problems, and its plans for the future (especially its proposals for parental involvement).
- At least once a year each school is to invite ward trustees, staff, parents, and secondary school pupils to a general meeting which will receive the school's annual reports, hear the remarks of the Principal, and be open for discussion on anything affecting the school.

With the decentralization report the Toronto school system begins to move in the direction of local autonomy. One of the report's final recommendations has to do with relations between the elected Board and the permanent staff, and it recognizes the turmoil that exists in a school system in a transitional phase.

"It is recommended that the Board be concerned at the rate of change being demanded of the system, and assist the system in accommodating change."

Then it continues:

"Many staff members feel betrayed by senior administrators and confused and frustrated by the actions of trustees. It is recommended that trustees restrain themselves from becoming involved in actual administration until other methods of achieving policy changes have failed."

No one in the Toronto school system can read these words without thinking of the related transition taking place in the response to the education of children from immigrant families. A Board that tried straight assimilation for a century and a kind of cultural immersion for a decade, has now committed itself to a great many multicultural policies and programs. They can be summarized under four main headings:

Teaching English as a Second Language
Multiculturalism and Education
System Sensitivity
School-Community Relations

(Anyone interested in the details of Board policy should read pages 399-403 and pages 455-468 of the Board minutes for 1975, and pages 219-232 of the Board minutes for 1976.)

b) Teaching English as a Second Language

In its ESL (English as a Second Language) programs the Board has adopted three basic principles:

i) Cultural Immersion
ii) Writing, reading, grammar, and syntax
iii) The recognition of the importance of learning materials and elements that reflect the student's own cultural heritage.

Part (i) is a system-wide extension of the philosophy of the reception centres over the past ten years. Part (ii) is what the system has been doing since immigrants began to arrive (although some would argue the the policy of cultural immersion over the past ten years has worked against a concern with the basics of reading and writing). Part (iii) integrated with the other two puts the program within the context of multiculturalism.

To co-ordinate the development of ESL programs the Board has expanded the former New Canadian department into an English as a Second Language Department with a close working relationship with the Language Study Centre and the new School-Community Relations Department, all of them within the Curriculum and Program Division. The ESL department staff includes a co-ordinator and six consultants, one for each of the administrative areas in the system.

In its day schools the Board now has a total of 148 ESL teachers, EOD (Educational Opportunities Deficiences) teachers, and ESD (English as a second dialect) teachers. The EOD teachers work with children whose school achievement is low because of an educational background that did not prepare them for schooling in Canada and who need booster programs in basic subjects like mathematics, reading, and writing. The ESD teachers work with English-speaking children (mainly from the Caribbean) whose dialect, vocabulary, and speech rhythms are sometimes quite different from what is considered standard English in Ontario.

A "New-Canadian" student is now defined by the Toronto Board as "any student who may be unable to achieve academic success with regular programs because his or her language, dialect or culture is different from that of the school system". (The Metro Board has a much more narrow definition involving weighting factors and limiting New Canadians to children born outside the country and with less than two years in the school system. This means that the Metro staff allocation formulae do not generate enough teachers to satisfy the broader Toronto definition of New Canadian students.)

Programs for these students include reception classes, transition classes, and withdrawn classes. Reception classes are grade free at elementary schools and grade and level free at secondary schools. At the end of the reception period the student enters a transition or regular program at a grade and level determined by a procedure involving parents, student, reception teachers, and principal. The length of time spent in a reception class depends on the progress the student is able to make in learning English.

In 4 secondary schools (with 80 or more ESL and/or EOD teaching periods weekly) headships (i.e. subject chairmanships) have been set up, and in 4 secondary schools (with 50 or more ESL/or EOD teaching periods weekly) ESL assistant headships have been set up. Students can now earn credits in ESL toward their secondary school graduation diploma.

Other elements in the ESL program are revitalized summer courses, the development of new strategies for teaching English as a second language to adults, more in-service programs, and the development of library, audio-visual and other learning materials.

In summary, the Board's policy is to offer a variety of ways for a student to learn English, and to do so in a way that will not damage but actively re-inforce the student's cultural identity.

c) Multiculturalism and Education

The Board supports the principle of teaching languages other than English and French at all grade levels in response to community needs. But in its final report the work group on multiculturalism decided not to recommend third language programs for elementary schools because of the general lack of community and school support for them.

No such general opposition exists for third language programs at the secondary school level and as of September 1976 day school credit courses 11 languages other than English and French are being offered. The list (with the number of schools offering the course) is as follows:

- Chinese - Cantonese (1)
  - Mandarin (1)
- German (14)
- Greek (Modern) (2)
- Hebrew (1)
- Italian (10)
- Polish (1)
- Portuguese (2)
- Spanish (5)
- Russian (3)
- Ukrainian (1)

The continuing adult education program includes school credit courses in all those languages (except Hebrew) and also in Croatian, Hungarian, Latvian, and Lithuanian. Non-credit courses (usually conversational) are given in Chinese, Estonian, French, Gaelic, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Ukrainian. In total — at the secondary and adult level — there are courses in 18 languages other than English and French.

In the area of curriculum development the Board has asked for a review of teaching material to accomplish the following:

i) Identification of Material that reflect a positive and creative attitude toward Canadian Cultural Pluralism.
ii) Identification of culturally and racially based content.
iii) Assembly and developlment of appropriate new materials.

In response to this request 12 curriculum staff and 32 classroom teachers spent the summer of 1976 reviewing textbooks and other teaching material and producing new and revised materials. The review teams spent a total of 4,292 hours on multiculturalism projects and 1,932 hours on ongoing curriculum development projects at a cost to the Board of approximately $100,000. The materials they produced are being fieldtested in the Fall of 1976 in collaboration with the area superintendents and the consultants in each area.

Two other recommendations passed by the Board suggest the concern with local involvement:

"School programs — in the fine and performing and folk arts (should) be sensitive to the ethnic composition of each school community."

"A component of Social Studies (should) be a study of the local school community, and include material on the history and settlement patterns and cultural groups in the community."

d) System Sensitivity

One of the themes running through the issue paper, *The Bias of Culture*, and the work group's two reports is that no matter how many new teachers and programs are added nothing will really change unless people are aware of themselves as part of a multicultural school system. The key to success, says the final report, "is a staff sensitive to the needs, hopes, and aspirations of its community, and familiar with the deep and abiding meaning of its traditions, heritage, and race."

The Toronto Board has asked the Ministry of Education to develop programs at teacher training institutions "encompassing the study of society, culture, and personality, that would prepare teachers to work in a multicultural society". Both the Board and the Ministry are now providing in-service courses of a similar nature.

Criteria for promotion (and, to some extent, the hiring of new teachers) now include consideration of an applicant's sensitivity to a culturally diverse school population, ability to communicate with parents in local school communities, and competency in languages other than English. Where possible educational assistants are hired who live in the school community.

In the area of racism the Board now has a broad policy based on these recommendations:

"An in-service program (should) be developed to provide staff with opportunities for understanding cultural development and practical suggestions for dealing with incidents of racism and reverse racism in the schools."

"Incidents of racism among the student body should not be ignored but become a focus for discussion and subsequent learning."

"The issue of racism and reverse racism should be a topic for school discussion, and a program should be developed for integrating the topic into the regular school program."

While these broad directions for a policy on racism have been set, ways of putting that policy into practice are still being worked out.

e) School-Community Relations

In the summer of 1975, on the recommendation of the Multicultural Work Group's draft report, the Board set up a School-Community Relations Department. Administratively it was made part of the Curriculum and Program Division so that it will act not only as a liaison between school and community but also as a help in seeing that the curricula and programs of the schools reflect the needs of the community. When fully staffed the department will have a co-ordinator, six school-community liaison officers (one for each area), and 18 school-community liaison workers (probably three for each area).

One policy already developed is that of a "major school-community assignment" in which a staff member takes an assignment for about two years at one school in order to help the school develop its own school-community relations. This is based on the concept of developing long-term results in certain areas rather than applying short-term bandaids all over the system. It is also in line with the idea that the SCR department will be phased out in five years, having assisted in the development of local structures through which its work will continue.

In the general area of school-community relations many other departments of the Board are now involved with the SCR department in projects to improve communication and understanding between the Board and its communities. Some examples of these are:

— the preparation of slide-and-tape presentations explaining Board programs
— the preparation of annual ethnic demographic charts in each school
— the production of a series of radio programs in Portuguese on a local commercial station, paid for by the Board
— the identification of community volunteers or commercial translators to supplement the regular interpreting and translating services of the Board
— experiments with simultaneous translation equipment.

In the area of guidance and counselling a number of things are being done:

— a secondary school placement officer has been assigned to the central office of the Guidance and Counselling Department
— an assessment program is being developed for secondary school English-speaking students who have no documents.
— the developing of procedures for the entry of immigrant students to the Toronto school system
— the involvement of the guidance staff in in-service programs related to the education of immigrant students.

In the area of student services (social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists) the Board's policy now is that an important consideration in hiring additional staff be the ability to speak another language in addition to French and English.

d) The Question of Costs

"Who should bear the financial burden for the additional costs that must be incurred to ensure that immigrant children are given their rightful opportunity within the various school systems."

Mary Ashworth of the University of British Columbia asks this question in her book, *Immigrant Children and Canadian*

Schools, and answers it in these words: "Part of this burden should surely be borne by the federal government and part by the provincial government; school districts alone should not have to bear the total cost."

The Toronto Board of Education would say *Amen* to that. At present the Board pays about 70 percent of the costs of running its school system, and the province pays about 30 percent. Some of the provincial grant money comes from "weighting factors" that take into account the numbers of students who are recent immigrants. The federal government makes no grants to the province to help pay for multicultural programs in the schools. Yet, argue the Board and the province, the federal government has an immigration policy that brings thousands of immigrant children to the city.

What is difficult to get at in this question of costs is exactly what are the incremental costs, that is, those that would disappear if there were no multicultural programs in the system.

Examples of costs that everyone would agree are incremental are English-as-a-Second-Language teachers, interpreter, translation services, publications in languages other than English, School-Community Relations staff — in other words, all staff and services related to languages other than English. From 1967 to 1976, as indicated in Appendix D, these costs amounted to more than 33 million dollars.

The Board's view is that these are minimal figures. Except for the costs of portable classrooms used exclusively for New Canadian programs and for the cost of administrative personnel working full-time on such programs, no overhead costs related to plant operations or administration have been included. Because these direct costs averaged about 2.5 per cent of the Board's budget, it can be argued that at least that percentage of costs of plant, administration, and student services could be added. This kind of calculation is, in fact, done for the cost of French instruction, as illustrated in Appendix D. The calculations apply average teacher salaries to the number of full-time teachers and add the appropriate portion of overhead costs to arrive at a total. The result indicates that about 4 percent of the money spent on education by the Toronto Board is directed to French instruction.

Any empirical measure of the amount of time administrative and student services personnel devote to multicultural issues would probably show a percentage closer to 10 percent than the 2.5 percent mentioned above. It can be argued that a number of middle range positions such as administrative assistants exist largely because of the work load resulting from multicultural programs. Of the 141 reports published by the Research Department 39 deal in whole or in large part with questions relating to New Canadians. Similarly, much of the energy of social workers, guidance personnel, and psychologists has been directed to New Canadian students. There is also the cost of rewriting curriculum and retraining staff within the context of a multicultural school system.

To provide an adequate level of service would cost almost twice as much as is being spent in 1976. The 1976 expenditures amount to $4,828,914 of which $4,089,215 is devoted to teaching English as a Second Language. If the school system were doing the kind of job it should be doing, that figure would become $8,143,028. (Appendix D)

PART VII

WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING

Intensive interviews were carried out with 78 people selected from all major interest groups. The intent was to obtain an articulate statement of the various opinions within each group. Those selected represent different experiences and viewpoints; some are or were involved in major multicultural programs, others were never involved; some are strongly in favor of Board policy, others have reservations.

The samples of elementary and secondary school principals, Board staff and trustees are representative of these groups. The community respondents cannot be considered as representative because of the size and diversity of these groups. Also, the presidents of the Toronto teachers' groups were interviewed.

Breakdown of groups interviewed is as follows:

Elementary school principals	19
Secondary school principals	15
Board Staff (Director, Associate Director, Superintendent of Curriculum, Area Superintendents, Chief Social Worker, School Community Liaison Officer, Head of ESL (English as a Second Language) Program, School Community Relations Officers	18
Trustees	7
Teacher representatives	2
Community representatives	17
Total	78

A massive amount of information was gathered in these interviews based on an interview schedule focusing primarily on (a) people's interpretation of multiculturalism and their perception of Board policy; and (b) their perception of the major problems or issues impeding the implementation of policy and the major supporting factors which would facilitate such implementation.

In order to characterize the main issues, the responses have been organized into two broad categories. Section (a) reports on the various definitions, nuances and underlying assumptions which appear to make up people's conception of what multiculturalism means to them and how it relates to Board policy. This section also identifies the main patterns and variations in the definitions and points out certain similarities and differences within and across the groups.

Section (b) describes the various barriers perceived to inhibit, and the main conditions seen to be helpful, in implementation of multicultural programs. Included in this section is an analysis of the process of change, which concerns the relationships among groups during the time of policy making and implementation, and particularly how group members perceive these relationships.

a) INTERPRETATIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM

Although there appears to be widespread *general* agreement about the need for multiculturalism, and the vast majority of people endorse the Board's policy, basic (underlying) differences can be seen when people begin to talk about it specifically. This is especially true when the general definition offered by some respondents appears to be contradicted later in the interviews by the specific remarks the respondents then make.

The views are presented by group constituency and the conclusions drawn also note group patterns where they exist.

As a preface to reporting these data it should be noted that the interpretations vary on a continuum, according to goals, as illustrated below:

Maintenance of language and culture of the group	Canadian culture dynamically developed through a combination of different ethnic cultures	Assimilation to Canadian culture
X	X	X

Underlying the whole issue of multiculturalism is that of bilingualism. French and English are the two official languages of Canada. It can be seen from the interviews, however, that many respondents do not view compulsory French instruction favourably. This question is looked at in more detail later in this section.

1. Trustees

Some of the trustees who have been central in the Work Group which produced Board Policy have a developmental viewpoint. For example:

> *I see multiculturalism as a developmental process where individuals within the different ethnic communities not only maintain their own traditions and language but modify them in the context of the larger society, responding as it were, to the influences of the other ethnic groups.*

The respondent then discussed some of the implications of this definition, and notes that multiculturalism does not mean maintenance but rather interaction among groups, as well as an organization and curriculum which recognizes the cultural characteristic of the communities served. Failure of the school system to do this might lead to ghettoization because groups will be forced to rely on their own separate institutions. In brief, "the whole idea of multiculturalism" to this person is:

> *to encourage participation of the community in the broader institutions so that the negative effects of ghettoization may be overcome.*

Much of the impetus for multiculturalism policy came from a small core of trustees who hold the above views strongly.

To other trustees, the developmental aspect is missing from their concept of multiculturalism. It is replaced by a simpler notion of acceptance of different customs:

> *We are different from the States with their melting pot. Here we have a mixture of people who have not been forced into the pot. We have allowed the differences to exist.*

Despite this attitudinal acceptance, some trustees are ambivalent in their feelings. The dilemma can be seen in the following comments of a trustee who defines multiculturalism as an attitude of mind where differences become respected and understood through contact. Then, in answer to a question about the limits of ethnic influence, the trustee states:

> *Ethnic influence is acceptable providing it does not change the way the country is run. Providing it remains . . . it remains the Toronto and Canada I knew when I came here. My intellect tells me one thing and my emotions another. I guess I mean an Anglo-Canadian environment.*

This comment and others in the interviews demonstrate the trustee's lack of clarity, and consequently, the fear of multicultural developments — including possible loss of Anglo-Canadian identity, and of fragmentation of society if each ethnic group maintains its own language and culture in isolation .

Similar fears are voiced by a small number of trustees who have strong reservations about any multicultural policy:

> *The way the Board defines it — resulting in special classes in special schools — will lead to housing ghettos.*

Overall, the majority of the present Board endorse multiculturalism as the need to accept and understand the traditions and customs of different ethnic groups, in order to facilitate the transition of the student to his new environment. Within this majority, some trustees are ambivalent in their fear of the effects of multiculturalism. A minority of the Board have definite reservations about the end result of the multicultural policy.

2. Board Administrative Staff

The Board staff interviewed consisted of 12 central staff and the six Area Superintendents (the Board is divided into six areas).

i) Central Staff

The central staff interprets multiculturalism in terms similar to those of the majority of trustees, i.e. "the need for greater understanding between kids of different cultures."

Some view it as interaction and subsequent contribution to an evolving Canadian culture; others see it simply as a question of maintenance. Ambivalence, as with some trustees, is expressed in the fear that support to ethnic groups can have dangerous outcomes.

The above sentiments can be seen in the following:

> *What is clear is that every aspect of education must include a multi rather than a unitary education . . . Multiculturalism is a flattening of society. More people get ahead of the Anglo-Saxons.*

and,

> *The Board's initial objective is to help children from non-English-speaking families gain competency in the English language and become functional in the*

> *skills necessary for this community and for the larger community. Also, there is an effort to assist in maintaining their cultural integrity.*

and,

> *I see multiculturalism as an attempt, almost an heroic attempt, to sustain the various ethnic origins people come from, rather than have them obliterated due to changes.*

One respondent is ambivalent in his support because of his fear of the problem of isolation:

> *Multiculturalism means a society composed of different ethnic groups, retaining some of their ethnic differences. It is my hope that there will be a blending of cultures in Canada . . .*
> *I worry . . . because I think that people are inhibited in their choices when communities grow separately. In that case Canada hasn't much of a chance to become a nation. It bothers me where a community might never become part of Canada.*

Another member perceives multiculturalism more in terms of language and cultural maintenance.

> *It means actively supporting their languages and cultures. All jurisdictions should support the concept of the maintenance of one's linguistic and cultural heritage, but this should not be done to the detriment of acquiring English if in Ontario, and French if in Quebec.*

Yet another dimension is added by the following respondent:

> *My view is based on the fact that the cultural make-up of Canada is diversified . . . My only contention with the Board policy is that not enough attention is addressed to questions of racism . . . Cultural differences between white and non-white immigrants must be recognized.*

On the whole, for the central staff, the goals of multiculturalism seem to stem from two values. The first is a wish to encourage preservation of cultural differences and identities as a fundamental human right in Canadian society. The second is a desire for equality of opportunity in Canada: the school system must relate to the needs of children from different backgrounds in a way that will most effectively promote motivation and learning skills.

ii) Area Superintendents

Respondents in this group introduce more serious qualifications and concerns in their interpretations than do central staff. Despite some acknowledgement that differences among ethnic groups in Canadian society should be respected, the respondents tend to view assimilation as the main goal of the school system. More of an expectation is placed on immigrants to adjust to the system rather than the reverse.

This latter feeling is evident in the following viewpoint:

> *Main goal is to integrate immigrants into Canadian socieity so that they can function in our society, to enable people to adjust so that they can communicate. I don't see where the country has any responsibility to maintain their cultures.*

This person's interpretation of some of the implications of Board policy is that of "maintenance of culture" as seen when he continues:

> *It would be impossible to maintain cultures for groups,*

and

> *Ghettoization could result in Toronto instead of an integrated society.*

Another superintendent states that the Board should encourage, and provide opportunities for, the different ethnic groups to maintain their culture in after-school programs when these opportunities can be reasonably provided (e.g., in terms of space, money). Canadian culture is defined by the same person in terms of two languages:

> *I think that our basic culture is English-French; that is our base strength, the others are supplementary.*

Still another states:

> *Considering everything I guess multiculturalism (is) . . . a view of the community that is composed of a great many cultural groups but where one group (English) is dominant.*

As with the other groups, the dilemma of ambivalence is present. There is support, yet there is fear, as seen in the following comment:

> *If education is in the business of promoting and maintaining social skills of living, then multiculturalism will be part of the package . . . But my fear is that multiculturalism will ghettoize society more, whereas we have tried to develop a national*

> *thrust. If our school system leads to language and culture maintenance in a big way, we will build ghettos even more.*

There was also a tendency among area superintendents, more so than among previous respondents, to take a narrower view of Board policy by stressing the development of English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, designed to help immigrants learn English. This aspect can be related to an assimilationist viewpoint.

In summary, most of the area superintendents seem to view assimilation as the main goal of multiculturalism. This, however, should not be seen as a static interpretation because many also express ideas recognizing the rights of different ethnic groups to coexist in Canada.

3. Elementary School Principals

These respondents were aware of the problems of immigrant children in 1962 when they commissioned a study of these students in the system. The majority of principals are now still sensitive to the problem. They interpret multiculturalism as respect for the coexistence of different ethnic groups. Some other principals perceive the main goal of multiculturalism to be assimilation.

The following interpretations from the first group of principals generally emphasize the understanding and acceptance of different cultures *through interaction* of these cultures to allow equal opportunity and an evolving Canadian culture:

> *Multiculturalism is many groups of varied ethnic background living together. I think it involves more mixing, less ghettoizing. Communication will take place through the school and various residence groups. Its objective is to get parents involved and in a way is a response to the criticism that we have been shafting non-Anglo-Saxon children into Level 1 and 2 programs, which is a fact.*
>
> *Programs are needed not just for Greeks and Chinese; it is of as much value for Anglo-Saxons. I think it is good for the Greek child to see the customs of the Anglo-Canadian and the reverse. By seeing each other's customs they will become more tolerant.*
>
> *It means flexibility, appreciating other ethnic groups and the idea that 50-60% of the kids*

> *other than Anglo-Saxon are in the system. It means letting non-English-speaking kids speak their own language early on to help them learn English and without putting down their own background. It means to be aware of their problems of cultural shock and to be as sensitive as we can. We want them to adapt to Canada but not to lose ethnic identity.*
>
> *Main goal should be an attitudinal thing — foster that of understanding and acceptance which in turn enhances the teaching of English. The new (Canadian) identity will be an amalgam of many groups — a number of things put together to result in a new product without destroying the components.*

Within this group of principals favouring understanding, two principals had a more pervasive view:

> *A damn shame if we have to think of multiculturalism set out as a curriculum objective. Should be a way of life, should come from everyday living. Should be an attitude of acceptance and caring for people.*

and,

> *ESL I see as the program that treats the most acute only. To be fully multicultural it would have to be in every classroom.*

A contrary point of view was expressed by six principals who have reservations, in varying degrees, about what they perceive as the Board's policy and its implications, and whether multiculturalism should be a priority. One principal from a school with a high percentage of immigrants expressed it this way:

> *My community doesn't want language in the school. This is where the trustees and my staff and community differ. It would appear the trustees want immersion at certain levels, yet I feel the child should have English sooner. If they say that each ethnic group is entitled to its culture, what about the Turkish kids? When we start to segregate then we start to ghettoize.*

It was clear from other remarks by this principal that he sees the main goals of multiculturalism as assimilation through English-as-a Second-Language programs.

Other principals agree with this view:

> *It is intended to help assimilate them to become better Canadians. The one thing we have to watch out for is a proliferation of these projects (to support particular ethnic groups) that could lead to Balkanization of the country. It is basically an English-speaking country.*
>
> *I think the Board's policy perpetuates group separation. I do not think multiculturalism is a major goal. Integration to Canada is the most important objective.*

Also in agreement with the assimilationist viewpoint is the principal of a school in a community with virtually all English-speaking families:

> *I think, and here's my Canadian patriotism, that families have chosen to live in a basically English city and that the first language should not be at the exclusion of the English. I would have to put several other goals ahead of multiculturalism, e.g., skills in basic subjects. I actually think the Board has gone too far with its funding. They've done it at our expense. I don't think it's fair. Our kids have as much right as the inner-city schools.*

In sum, the majority of elementary school principals in our sample strongly support policies which promote respect for ethnic differences and interaction among ethnic groups. A minority of those in our sample view assimilation as the major responsibility of the school.

4. Secondary School Principals

Responses from the secondary school principals can be divided approximately into two main groups. The first group support a multicultural approach in order to ease culture shock and to facilitate the learning of English. The second group express serious reservations about what they perceive as the current multicultural policy.

The first group consists of a little over half the principals. They emphasize the need for knowledge and respect for ethnic differences, as can be seen in the following:

> *I can see a transitional program in kindergarten, grade one and two. To suddenly drop a child into a new cultural environment away from his home must cause*

> *some damage because it is unkind. I think the children should strive to switch over to English as quickly as possible so that they can enter the competition. I see the current Canadian society as pluralistic rather than the melting pot.*

Another principal in the first group expresses a view similar to the above, but shows concern with the way multiculturalism is developing:

> *When I think of the word multiculturalism, I think of a total society with many various cultures with little integration. At the moment this means a segmented concept of various cultures in our society with emphasis on individual culture rather than Canadian culture. I see the school's main job as teaching English. And secondly the student must be given the opportunity of getting over the culture shock. There must be a welcome, a warmth of approach, and that is one of our concerns.*

While this first group of principals recognizes the needs of immigrant students, only two of them (and thus two out of thirteen) express a pluralistic approach:

> *Multiculturalism allows ethnic groups to interact and yet maintain their own languages. But the main effort has to be in English, given that we are living in Toronto. The groups should intermingle and not be just intent on preserving their culture and language. In fact, they can do both. The one does not exclude the other. The important thing is to see how multiculturalism can be worked into several courses, not to provide a single multicultural course. It has to be spread throughout the programs in the system. It can't be an appendage to the regular program, that is, the high school language programs alone.*

and,

> *It is a recognition and acceptance of the fact that society consists of peoples with differences in a language, history, culture, whose contributions are unique and valuable in developing a national character.*

The second group of principals, just under half the respondents, generally are concerned about segregation as a result of the Board policy, and most agree with the majority of area superintendents who maintain that ethnic groups should adjust to the system rather than the reverse. Their sentiments are expressed thus:

> *The way the Board seems to be going will bring up more division.*
>
> *Canada should come first and the other nationality second, otherwise they should not have come here.*
>
> *I don't think it's the school's responsibility to maintain each group's culture.*
>
> *What faster way to create a blackboard jungle and ghettos around the school than to promote separate clubs for each ethnic or racial group?*

An underlying inconsistency seen in some respondents can be identified in the following two statements from one principal:

> *The Board's policy leads to the perpetuation of multiculturalism. I think it should be looking towards acceptance and integration of other cultures. One of the ways to do this is to get everyone, teachers too, to understand the good in every culture.*

A few minutes earlier the same principal had said:

> *I don't think the social character of the country will change. I have great faith in the Anglo-Saxons and all the people who have emigrated from Northern Europe. They seem to be imbued with a different spirit, a winning spirit, which the others will have to come up to.*

In general, the secondary school principals tend to have stronger reservations about multiculturalism than do elementary school principals.

5. Teacher Representatives

The presidents of the two Toronto teachers groups [district 15 of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) and of the Toronto Teachers' Federation (TTF)] were interviewed. In addition, more information about teaching staff attitudes toward multiculturalism was obtained from the school principals. The information gathered can in no way be seen as representative of all teachers in Toronto, but it does give an indication of the issues that teachers are concerned about.

The following teacher representative is aware that his view of multiculturalism is not typical of the majority of the elementary school teachers he represents. He sees multiculturalism as:

> *. . . a mosaic of ethnic people, speaking both culturally and linguistically. In the past there has been the melting pot mentality at work where there was an urge to Canadianize. We had to make people into Canadians. Now there is a recognition of the need to maintain ethnic identity to include the individual's background. In trying to establish the policy, the Board is expressing a view similar to my own, namely, to make the school system reflect the community in its approach to teaching.*

This representative, in the interview, states that elementary school teachers in the inner city are more aware of the multicultural element and will become involved in a policy to promote it. Resistance stems more from teachers working outside the inner city, and is one of attitude:

> *The Anglo-Saxon teachers have to be sold on the policy. Teachers have adopted an elitist attitude towards the ethnic groups in social class terms.*

The secondary school teacher representative points out that the secondary group was never formally asked to support the Board policy. In fact, it does support the multicultural policy in principle. This representative reflects the concerns of secondary school teachers in these words:

> *The basis of the policy as the Board describes it is the teaching of English to immigrant children. You can teach some foreign languages, but in practical terms unless you develop ghettoized schools, I can't see a way of maintaining language in the school as ethnic groups might want it, and also teaching the basic curriculum, not with the time and manpower we've got.*

This representative of secondary school teachers does not see resistance as attitudinal. Rather, it is a pragmatic issue, one of practical priorities. Colleagues want to help ethnic students learn English and perform well in school, but cannot devote time to language and cultural maintenance because of the many other demands made on them.

Further information received about teachers from interviews with principals and others substantiates these same two orientations in the two groups: attitudinal resistance to new cultural influences, and practical concerns with the impossibility of dealing with diverse cultural groups in light of other priorities. The split in teacher attitudes towards multiculturalism as a priority is clearly shown in a survey conducted by one secondary school among its own staff. Following are some of the questions in, and results of, the survey:

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
Professional development days should be set aside to sensitize teachers to the different systems and backgrounds of the sizeable cultural minorities at this school?	58%	42%	nil
Sensitivity to multicultural issues should be a contributing factor in the hiring of future staff?	35%	12%	53%

Many of the differences of opinions and specific concerns which underly these percentages become clear in the next section when we report perceptions about problems of implementing Board policy.

6. Community Representatives

Seventeen people, all associated with various ethnic communities, were interviewed. They were chosen because they are considered knowledgeable and articulate, but cannot be construed as official spokesmen for their particular ethnic group.

The seventeen interviewed consisted of the following:

Black	1
Chinese	3
Greek	1
Italian	4
Polish	1
Portuguese	3
Ukrainian	2
Labour	2

The majority of ethnic representatives expressed as their priority the preservation of their language and/or culture, which they see as threatened. In the short run at least, this self-concern can run counter to the position that multiculturalism should encourage interaction and exchange among all groups in Canada. However, a certain level or sense of security about one's cultural heritage might be a necessary precondition for interaction with others. In addition, respondents expressed concern for the growing communication gap between parents and child. Preservation of language and culture is seen as a means of reducing this problem. Some of those interviewed expressed their ideas this way:

> *To preserve the Chinese culture in Canadian society as Italians and Portuguese preserve theirs. Chinese language instruction is necessary to bridge the communication gap between parents and children to preserve their own language and culture.*
>
> *Multiculturalism should be a major educational goal because (1) it's a more humane way of involving an immigrant into Canada, (2) when immigrants come here there are problems with the gap between parents and kids. Parents lose the kids around 10-14 because the kids become Canadian but the parents really don't. Multiculturalism can minimize the gap some, (3) the culture of Canada is strengthened by the contributions from different groups.*

One respondent viewed the multicultural policy with suspicion:

> *I think the various recommendations of the Toronto Board are moving in the right direction. However, I am not at all impressed with the ESL classes which I see as simply a help to the child to assimilate, not as an effort to help him find his own identity. We talk a lot about multiculturalism and ethnic pluralism. We have the flowery words, but our consciousness takes the route of Anglo-conforming assimilation.*

Four or five respondents stated a broader long-term view of multiculturalism as the protection and sharing of cultures in the context of an evolving Canadian culture.

> *Multiculturalism, I take to mean the support by and consent of institutions, for individuals to develop linguistic skills plus the two official languages as part of their cultural identity in the Canadian setting. This includes an awareness of the cultural traditions which have been brought here. History must reflect the contributions of ethnic groups.*
>
> *I object to the constant linking of multiculturalism solely to recent immigration. Multiculturalism should do everything in its power not to knock out the value system of the different groups and*

> *thereby rob you of your identity under the guise of promoting Canadianism.*
>
> *It is a concept which is opposed to assimilation. Rather, it is one where there is a sharing of heritages, where each gives to the other: by this means a pluralism of choice is created.*
>
> *Multiculturalism is the sharing of culture . . . Most people will define it more narrowly. They don't want to share. . . They just want to keep their own culture to themselves.*

Two respondents spoke explicitly of the need to counteract bias in the system:

> *I'm concerned about streaming the ethnic kids into vocational schools — that they haven't defined the vocational schools clearly to the ethnic parents.*
>
> *It is to be accepted into the Canadian way of life without the loss of one's cultural identity. Many European groups can blend into it. But the visible minority cannot. Therefore, it's very important for Blacks to feel that their background is as relevant as anybody else's. We have not been able to cope with the needs of New Canadians under past programs which were of Anglo-Saxon base. This came to our attention because of the drop-out rates, the streaming into low schools. There are a disproportionate number of black kids in the vocational system.*

7. The French-English Question

It is important here to emphasize one underlying aspect which was mentioned or implied by some respondents, but not fully developed, and that is the relationship between multiculturalism and bilingualism/biculturalism in French-English Canada. The larger picture is that French and English are the two official languages. French is very much in a minority position in Toronto; that is, in many communities the existence of French-speaking people and the desire for French programs are at best a distant third (behind English and the languages of other minority groups). Proponents of French see multiculturalism as a threat because it might reduce interest in that language. While there might not be any basic incompatability, in practice, at this time, there appears to be a growing disillusionment with French. Some elementary school principals (with large ethnic populations) describe it this way:

> *The French thing is a very middle and upper middle class thing. This is an inner city school and most parents don't give a damn about French.*
>
> *The staff generally resent the commitment to French because it is imposed hell or high water. At the same time, some are committed to bilingualism, but there is little opportunity for exposure to French in Toronto.*
>
> *French is a* **bloody** *waste of time. The kids resent it and most of my few discipline problems come from French classes. The whole school suffers for it.*
>
> *French is the toughest subject to teach in the city anyway, but it's tougher here because it's the third language. So the poor teachers have to stand on their heads to get the kids interested.*

One principal from a middle-class community with virtually all English-speaking pupils expressed the opposite view:

> *This community is so pro-French there is no end to parents' support. In the inner city I believe there is a prejudice against the French, and those who aren't prejudiced are apathetic.*

The principals at the secondary school level did not feel as much frustration with French, but mainly reported (usually from enrolment figures in French) that "French is on the downtrend". For example, in one school the number studying French in Grade 11 last year was 180 and this year is 150; the number in grade 12 last year was 125, this year it is 81. The principal of that school concludes:

> *French as a secondary school subject is going down the drain and this is true across the province.*

Community respondents expressed doubts about compulsory French:

> *My experience has been that students in French classes in 4, 5, and 6 didn't gain anything and don't speak French. Therefore I prefer that the children learn Chinese as the second language.*
>
> *Compulsory French as an attempt to produce bilingualism is a joke. We could try for fluency in another language and that could lead to trilingualism and*

> *could become a means of Canadian identiy.*

Most community respondents did not mention French at all, being more concerned with the priorities in their own group.

At a recent conference in Ottawa, some French-speaking Canadians saw multiculturalism as a threat to their own status. This position is referred to by several respondents, including the trustee who elaborated on it this way:

> *The Federal government is going to shift off it (multiculturalism) because the Quebec thinking that is surfacing now is that multiculturalism is an Anglophone plot to destroy the French language.*

In a question about whether French should be compulsory, 21 of the respondents say yes, 30 say no, and the rest (24) are either undecided or don't answer. However, in their comments, the majority of respondents indicate that they are in favour of French, but that it is futile to enfore it under present conditions. One gets the impression from the experience of those closest to the scene (e.g., the elementary school principals) that there is initially no negative attitude toward French (in fact a generally positive one), but that making it compulsory is generating negative feelings as a result of the process.

Conclusion

We have seen a wide range of interpretations of the current policy and practice of multiculturalism in Toronto. The implications of these differences for the implementation of policy are obviously very important. We will turn to these in the next section, when we analyze the perceived problems of and aids to implementation.

b) PERCEPTIONS OF PROBLEMS AND OF SUPPORTING FACTORS IN IMPLEMENTATION

The purpose of this section is to report and analyze what respondents perceived to be the major problems and supporting factors in implementing the Board multicultural policy.

It is important to stress that what some people perceive as barriers to change, others perceive as support, depending on their goals.

To facilitate analysis of the various factors, they are organized into six categories which summarize comprehensively all the major issues raised. The perceived barriers and supportive factors of each issue are analyzed together within these categories, which are:

1. Clarity of Goals
2. Attitudes
3. Knowledge and Skills
4. Resources (money, materials)
5. Multiple Demands
6. Process of Change

A brief explanation is required because some affect others. The first category is self-explanatory. Problems arise because there is no agreement as to what Board policy actually is; the different goals held by various correspondents work at cross-purposes; there is definite confusion as to what exactly multiculturalism means in practice.

Information in the second category — attitudes — indicates certain groups support, or do not support, further development of multicultural programs. This category is difficult because negative attitudes can be caused by many factors. Here, however, the resistance or lack of support is discussed generally. At this level it is usually perceived as *value* resistance, i.e. people do not support multiculturalism because they do not value it. Specific reasons are identified in subsequent categories.

Attitudes can be the result of other factors and the next four categories refer to some of these, e.g., lack of knowledge about and skills in dealing with immigrant groups. Negative attitudes are analyzed in terms of the need for in-service training and for personnel and promotion changes. Similarly, lack of resources (finances, curriculum materials), and multiple demands (time, other priorities) present a host of practical constraints which can influence implementation.

Finally, the process of change is analyzed in three ways: (1) at a general level, how the whole movement of change is viewed by respondents (e.g., in terms of imposition, rapidity); (2) perceptions of specific strategies such as the establishment of the School Community Relations Department (SCR); and (3) the introduction of new curricula.

A number of specific steps have been taken already to implement program changes. These are the direct outcome of close to 200 policy decisions arising out of the Work Group on Multiculturalism and the decentralization report, referred to in Part VI. These steps have been reinforced by the establishment of the Director's Implementation Report. It is directed at planning and monitoring implementation of the decentralization report; several of the report recommendations deal directly with the problems of implementing the multicultural policies. Some of these policies are referred to in this section, but basically, emphasis is placed on what people perceive to be the major factors facilitating implementation.

Two important points should also be made before discussion of specific factors. First, many of the actual policies (see Part VI) are directly focussed on implementation and as such already represent forces that will bring about specific changes. Second, as stated previously, the time of the interviews (mostly May - June, 1976) represents the period when most of the policies were just being adopted, and very few had been attempted. In a real sense, implementation has not yet begun. So the period of our interviews marks approximately the beginning of implementation.

1. Clarity of Goals

The varying perceptions in goals presented in the previous section will affect the successful implementation of Board policy. On the one hand, several middle-level administrators and school principals essentially see assimilation as the main goal. This is bound to affect the implementation of policies designed to respect ethnic differences. One would predict that these people would tend to implement the narrower aspects of policy such as ESL training. On the other hand, there is some confusion about what Board policy, and thus its outcome, actually is. For example, Board policy does not endorse language maintenance, but a large number of respondents perceive that to be either the policy or the assumptions behind it. Another aspect is that while only a handful of respondents value language and cultural maintenance *per se*, a much larger number perceive that it is valued by others. It could be that respondents are correct in seeing this as the trend, or it could be a misperception, that in fact, this sentiment is not as widespread as some people think. It's also possible that the term "language maintenance" has a different meaning for various respondents. Part of this confusion stems from the Work Group's Draft Report, which recommended language maintenance. This recommendation was not brought forward in the Final Report. Yet respondents still see it as a possible major goal.

The other matter of confusion is the concept of multiculturalism as a process of preservation and sharing of many cultures which thereby contributes to an evolving Canadian culture. This is a basic principle of multicultural policy, but respondents find it difficult to envisage its operational form and consequences.

Another aspect in this lack of clarity is that the Board concept of multiculturalism is continuously evolving as a result of grappling with policy and its practical implications. The result is that the perceptions people have may be out-dated.

Because the policy is so new, it is very difficult to estimate the extent to which the ambiguities in perceptions will remain a problem. It is probably inevitable in the early stages of such a complex set of developments. There is the danger that the philosophical base and assumptions underlying the policy may not be clarified as the system works only on specific recommendation after specific recommendation. It remains to be seen whether the variations that evolve during implementation are continuously linked to a developing system-wide clarity and agreement on the major goals of multiculturalism. Given the checks and balances in the system, and the relative freedom and opportunity for input from all groups, there would seem to be a built-in mechanism for forcing continual clarity. Also it's possible that people will gain a clearer, more comprehensive view of what the policy means, as the more narrow forms of interpretation are rejected; that is, as ESL is defined as only a small part of multiculturalism, or as individual communities are not supported for programs which deal with language and cultural maintenance in isolation.

2. Attitudes and Support

Another concern expressed by many respondents is the perception that certain segments of the school system and community are against or do not favour multiculturalism. This was expressed directly by some people, and indirectly by some who perceived resistance in others. In assessing this information, three things should be borne in mind. First, we are referring to people's *perceptions* of others. Whether or not it is objectively accurate in all cases, it will be a problem if substantial numbers of people have similar perceptions. Second, some of these perceptions are of the entire group (e.g., teachers) and should not be generalized to all members of the groups, although when most people made statements they were usually implying large numbers. Third, attitudinal resistance may not be based on values against multiculturalism, but may be caused by a host of practical constraints such as those discussed in section 3 to 6 — lack of knowledge and skills, lack of resources, multiple demands, and the rapidity of change. If some of these latter problems are resolved, attitudinal resistance may well evaporate.

Many respondents indicate multiculturalism is not wholly supported by teachers, principals, some area superintendents, Anglo-Saxon community members, and isolationist ethnic groups. Most respondents indicate that although there are many within these groups who support multiculturalism, there are pockets of resistance in each. A range of these comments are reported below:

> *The Director will be facing opposition regarding community involvement from some of his area superintendents. This situation results because the superintendents are closer to the principals and tend to voice their point of view.* (Principal)

> *Responses in the school vary. But I don't think there is much support for Board policy in the administration.* (Principal)

> *The area superintendents are all supportive to varying degrees. Area people privately may have a different position than public. They are in a tough dilemma. Part of their job is to please politicians, the rest of their reference group is principals, and I would hope, but I'm not at all sure, that they are saying the same message in different rooms.* (Trustee)

> *Opposition will come from the area superintendents for the Board's multicultural policy, but it will be individually expressed and will vary with the individuals.* (Administration staff)

> *At the area level there is a lack of strong leadership which we must have if the policy is to succeed. Instead of giving us strong leadership they are simply dumping it on our laps.* (Principal)

The area superintendents themselves expressed some of their views in the following ways:

> *Principals need interpreters and other support staff for learning English, not school community liaison people.*
>
> *I will support reception, transition, withdrawal programs as long as the end result is English. Also I will support Greek, Chinese, and Italian bilingual/bicultural programs. They are terrific, but they should be after 4.*

Several principals in favour of multiculturalism were concerned about resistance among fellow principals:

> *I don't know how accurately this reflects other areas, but it troubles me when principals at meetings with the trustees and superintendents sit there nodding agreement from 9:00 to 12:00 and then spend the lunch hour bitching. They seem to be afraid to speak up when trustees and their superiors are around . . .*
>
> *It's hard to see the schools as models when the head of the place is overheard to make snide remarks about the immigrants.*
>
> *Attitudes of secondary school principals haven't changed a dint. They think one period of ESL will do the trick.*
>
> *The Board is very hot on community liaison, laid on without enough principals' involvement. Can't see the need for it. Why all the folderol and all the hullabaloo about multiculturalism? Is is really something new? Why are we into that whole bag.*

Another aspect of attitudes on the part of some non-Anglo school personnel is referred to by two respondents:

> *A lot of my friends who are non-British-Canadian are opposed to giving assistance to immigrants. It's a class thing of 'I know I made out all right, why must I pay for the others.' One of the principals of a school is an ex-immigrant who feels this way. Very unsympathetic to the immigrants in his school.* (Trustee)
>
> *I think if you would ask our parents (Ukrainians and Polish) what they thought, they would say that what the Board is doing is unnecessary, and that is my opinion too. The younger principals would likely be more supportive of the document.* (Principal)

A number of comments were directed to teacher resistance:

> *There has been some resistance from teachers, but it's a minority group. Some just won't face the idea of changing. Their big problem is academic attitude, but also school behaviour. Nobody talked back, etc. They can't understand the terrific change.* (Principal)

> *There is perhaps more sensitivity at the elementary level where most of these youngsters began. It's harder to overcome their background in the secondary level where the sink-or-swim attitude is prevalent.* (Area superintendent)

> *Secondary schools seem to feel that they should not be involved in anything that is not academic.* (Admin. staff)

One principal indicates an interesting difference among staff attitudes.

> *Those of ethnic background on staff said all children should learn English as fast as they could, and all the Anglo-Saxons were saying 'teach the children their own culture.'*

This position of some teachers with so called "ethnic background" is elaborated on by another respondent.

> *Some argue that 'you can't say the schools aren't multicultural, because we know all kinds of teachers who don't have English names.' That's not what we are talking about. Those teachers aren't going to do anything about maintaining, let's say, the Polish or Irish or Black heritage in that school. You know those teachers are the ethnics who have melted.* (Admin. staff)

This same respondent speaks of wider resistance among teachers:

> *There's great objection among the teachers by and large. There is a position that if you let them use their own language they will never learn English. It's garbage but that's their argument. I remember a discussion at a big high school and eventually it came down to 'you know, let's face it, we are talking about peasants, and who wants to go back to being a peasant.' That's what was said from one table in the room and nobody else said anything. Nobody rose up and said, 'that's a lot of baloney.'*

> *Toronto Teachers' Federation (elementary) is actively and publicly saying to its members to support us. Not so with the OSSTF (Secondary).* (Admin. staff)

A teacher who is also active in an ethnic association notes that:

> *At best, the schools are paying lip service to the policy. The teachers have a vested interest and are mainly concerned with self-protection. There is the self-righteous attitude that, what else can you expect from these dumb kids?*

A number of respondents identify community and public resistance to multiculturalism. This tends to be of two types: (1) Anglo resistance, and (2) ethnic resistance arising from groups who only want to serve their own narrow self-interest. The first type is referred to by several of those interviewed:

> *Among some Anglo-Saxons there is the impression that we are already doing too much for the New Canadians.* (Principal)

> *Immediately after we had published that (draft) report, the press had picked it up and for two days the whole work was stopped because all we were doing was answering phone calls from irate citizens. About what the hell we thought we were doing. Every one of them was Anglo.* (Admin. staff)

Many of these calls were from citizens outside of the Toronto Board area.

Or more generally:

> *The average Canadians don't accept immigrants. Portuguese parents feel rejected, and also feel rejected by their children because the children feel ashamed of their parents.* (Community representative)

Several people interviewed suggest that one of the main barriers to implementation is the attitude of some ethnic groups or subgroups who only want to pursue their own culture in isolation. This has been referred to before in terms of ghettoization.

Finally, one important emerging underlying theme expressed by school people concerns their feelings about their experiences with the increasing number of Black students:

> *I am not too happy with some groups, particularly some of the Blacks who are very visible. I guess it is a case of coming with aspirations and becoming turned off when they are unable to reach them. Consider the Jamaican kid of 16 or 17 who is reading at a grade 1 or 2 level. There is little future for them in the professional field. Now this is not evident to them. If I say that, I am called a racist.*

> *Sometimes I think we are bending over backwards to understand the Black students.* (Principal)
>
> *Some of the Black girls feel that some of the teachers are racist. And it's true, some teachers have no understanding whatsoever. Others let Blacks get away with things that no White would be allowed to get away with.* (Principal)
>
> *The Black kids feel that they are being persecuted by the teachers but they can never put their finger on anything specific. They offer no evidence.* (Principal)
>
> *I heartily disagree with the Blacks using visible discrimination. It's a political ploy by them to gain whatever they can. Blacks claim we're not providing for the Black kid — they get into name throwing. I haven't heard the word prejudice so many times as in the last few years.* (Principal)

Another aspect of the problem which we will look at under the section on multiple demands is that many Black students have serious educational deficiencies in their previous training. The difficulties are expressed generally by an area superintendent:

> *We do not have the specific skills to deal with the needs of Black students. I think it is not only important that the Board is concerned, but that they are perceived to be concerned, and that they are trying to address these problems.*

In addition to recognizing the needs of Black students, some of those interviewed feel that the Board has not paid enough attention to the problems of racism and reverse racism. They indicate that emotions are becoming more charged and some predict there could be a Black explosion, unless these issues are addressed.

In summary, the attitudes discussed in the last several pages represent possible pockets of resistance to the future development of multiculturalism. On the other hand, there are some strong elements of support.

The major forces of support are the strong commitment and involvement of several trustees, and an increasingly strong commitment on the part of senior administrators. There is virtual consensus in the system that these two forces are responsible for the initiation and much of the rapid development of policy. This is illustrated by the following comments, echoed by several others:

> *The pressure for community involvement comes from the trustees and from senior administrators. They want the parents to know more about what goes on in the school.* (Elementary principal)

> *The trustees in Toronto are real educators, front runners.* (Community representative)

The Director of Education, Duncan Green, openly ackowledges this direction in his own words:

> *After all, some of the trustees have an open agenda for changing the society, and what better place than through the school. And yes, as far as I am involved there is co-operation, and yes, it is deliberate. When I took the job, I deliberately helped to prepare the ground for greater input from the political sphere and from the community levels. For those who think that I sold out to the trustees, they might just as well ask if the trustees have been co-opted by the administration.*

The continuance of this thrust for multiculturalism will depend partly on the outcome of trustee elections in December, 1976. There are some who speculate that there might be a shift to more conservative trustees and that these might then side with some of the incumbent trustees who have reservations about the current policy. Others estimate that there will be approximately the same balance on the Board as now, and that in any case too many specific policies will be underway to turn back.

> *I don't think the conservative vote on the Board would be sufficient to reassert the old position. Many feel that this policy will save the city from the fate that has overtaken the American cities. This is certainly the view of the Director. There is also a strong trustee commitment, initially. The Director thought it was a gamble, but now after the report, he insists it's the only route to go. It was he who used the remark about trying to save the city.* (Elementary Principal)

At a more general level, people interviewed were struck by the positive attitude to multiculturalism within the Toronto system compared to just a few years ago.

> *I have just been back a year. I worked here before, some years ago. The attitude has changed. There is a real awareness of the multicultural community.*

> *Sensitivity has become a value in the system.*
> (Admin. staff)

That there was pre-existing support, and that it is increasing at the levels of the Ministry of Education, the community, and among many principals and teachers in the system is indicated by the following observations:

> *The Ministry of Education and the Advisory Council on Multiculturalism are meeting and the Council has put forward 108 recommendations. The Ministry is studying the provision of in-service training for a multicultural society as a summer program. The Ministry will not allow this to die.* (Admin. staff)

> *The Toronto Teachers' Federation is actively and publicly saying to its members to support us. TTF vice-presidents and six area councillors are going to work together with us to run in-service training programs.* (Admin. staff)

> *I think the schools feel good about the policy on paper and about the ethnic community involvement, and I think the communities feel good about the orientation of the schools.* (Elementary principal)

> *Principals* (elementary) *who will reject the recommendations probably will be in a small minority. I have come across so many who are aware of the situation we are in.* (Elementary principal)

> *The staff felt that they would be helped most if we kept the ESL teachers, but raised the PTR for all of the regular staff to 32-33. This way we will be able to have two reception classes in each of the morning and afternoon.* (Elementary principal)

> *Sure teachers will be militant, but another thing — a lot of teachers think we should be multicultural. I give you 30% of them at least. And the funny thing is teachers in the north end of the Board (outside of inner city) are beginning to shift their ideas too.* (Admin. staff)

Of course, during the two years of policy development the impact of recent rapid immigration increasingly was being realized and experienced on a day-to-day basis:

> *A very visible thing happened during the process that enhanced our credibility. It was the fact that over 50% of the kids in the system were non-Anglo-Saxon. Some teachers were becoming frustrated as well, as they realized that the home and the*

community could undo all they had done in a very short time. (Trustee)

3. Knowledge and Skills

There was widespread agreement that a major problem in the school system, on the part of school personnel, is the lack of knowledge of immigrant cultures and lack of skills to cope with immigrants. This problem as a barrier to implementation has two aspects. The first concerns the need for in-service and other types of training for existing teachers and principals, and pre-service for personnel new to the system. The second concerns the anxieties that arise from the feeling that new hiring and promotion criteria will be used and that existing personnel may lose opportunities for advancement.

In terms of in-service and pre-service, many respondents say essentially the same things. Only a few comments will be reported here:

> *Teaching staff, if not prepared to implement the report, forget about it. A lot of in-service training and development needed. Has to start back in university at undergraduate level, e.g., Canadian multiculturalism course, and at teachers' colleges.* (Principal)

> *I often wish that more teachers were exposed to situations where they would come to understand the different cultures. But to do that they must be disposed to listen. With the strike they are not in the mood for anything.* (Principal)

> *Last year the staff was saying: 'Help, we don't understand these kids. How come the mother's name is Miss Jones and her four kids all have different surnames, and her kids speak funny.'* (Principal)

> *We have to have a program of in-service in the schools to introduce multiculturalism in the classroom and to make use of resources in the community.* (Principal)

> *Also need in-service for teachers in relation to ethnic groups. Not a one-shot deal, it's an ongoing thing and hasn't been done. Must be a continuing program.* (Area superintendent)

> *Ignorance about the Board policy, especially at the secondary level, is shocking. The teachers*

have not been sensitized that Toronto is made up of diverse ethnic groups. They think the only consideration should be academic performance. (Admin. staff)

Lack of knowledge also leads to anxieties and fears about being replaced or not having a chance for promotion:

Some professional fears: 'Am I going to lose my job over this, in my own country. Would I compete in an unfair marketplace with a teacher from Greece because I don't have a second language?' Or as another principal said 'Just look at our teachers, what per cent are Anglos; just look at our kids, what per cent are Anglos.' I must admit that bothered me too. (Principal)

Security is a real issue. If they (teachers) feel their job is threatened their anxiety will rise greatly. (Trustee)

Yes, it is true that in making current promotions to principals and vice-principals the vested interests predominate, but you can't just move out people wholesale. (Admin. staff)

Now we have 70% of our employees living outside of Toronto. And one of the major tension points I would think in terms of the people who work for us is that they and their home community do not reflect very well their school community. (Trustee)

The biggest problem rests with the vice-principals, principals, and teachers. They have cliques to ensure that not too many non-Anglo-Saxons are in their ranks. I am not in favour of the use of a quota system, but doors have to be opened. (Community representative)

There are two ways in which the problem of lack of knowledge and skills is being addressed. The first is through retraining of existing personnel. As indicated before, much of the activity of the SCR, the plans for disseminating curriculum and so on, involve specific in-service training. Since this hasn't happened yet, any success in changing the day-to-day behaviour of teachers will have to be assessed at a later time. Previous comments indicate that in addition to specific in-service days, frequent interaction will be necessary between teachers/principals and area superintendents on the one hand, and between area superintendents and the central Curriculum

Division on the other.

The other way of coping with the problem is through promotion and selection of teachers and principals who have a background in various cultures in addition to fulfilling the regular criteria for such personnel. There is no explicit policy or quota system but clearly the trend is to hire more teachers and appoint more principals who have such a background:

> *There will be some conscious changes in passing over some candidates for principal in an effort to pick someone else. At the elementary level the area superintendents prepare a short list who are interviewed by a team of three administrators, two teacher representatives, one of whom may come from the staff of the school, two trustees, and a community representative. They make a recommendation to the Board. Under that arrangement the choice has to be supported by a broad base.* (Admin. staff)

> *The real question will be why are there not more Italian principals than we now have? Why aren't there more Black Department Heads? If the problem of under-represented groups is solved, it creates another problem of consciously acting against those groups which will be displaced.* (Admin. staff)

> *Another thing I would have liked to do was develop a training program that would have accelerated the route of advancement for New Canadians. I would try to do it within the confines of human relations and negotiation. But it would really have to be accelerated in terms of training, because we need some of them at the top pretty fast.* (Trustee)

Though the Board is sympathetic to certain community demands, and supports the pilot bilingual/bicultural programs (in Chinese, Greek, and Italian) that are part of regular school hours in some Toronto schools, it is against moving in the direction of each ethnic group having a principal from its own group, an issue which turned into a confrontation between a school and its community recently.

> *Although we are very much interested in community involvement we are leery of community control. We have just gone through a situation where the Vice-principal was Chinese and 85% of the enrolment was Chinese. When the question of a new principal came up it became a concern for the trustees*

> *that the community wanted a Chinese person as a principal in this particular school rather than a Chinese person in the system. There were several good reasons for not appointing this person to this particular post. We didn't appoint the person even after a one-day boycott of the school, and the picketing of the Board office, as well as some very vicious meetings. I do not think that you have to roll over and let the community walk over you to indicate that one is sensitive to their needs and concerns.* (Admin. staff)

4. Resources (Money, Materials)

The two types of resources referred to most are finances and curriculum materials. The interviews indicate that respondents are concerned mainly with the lack of help from the federal and provincial governments in dealing with problems incurred by the large influx of immigrants into Toronto:

> *I think more support for multiculturalism should come through the federal government. They are sending the immigrants over and they have an obligation to help with their adjustment and education. Because of a lack of this assistance we have had to drop some worthwhile programs.* (Principal)

> *I hope the information you pass on to the Ministry will result in more sympathy to the community. In terms of manpower and such we have got plenty. In terms of money we have none.* (Community representative)

> *There is no support from the Ministry officials in Ontario.* (Community representative)

> *I think that at the other two levels of government — federal and provincial, multiculturalism certainly is supported in terms of definition but not in terms of practice, although I must admit the provincial government is moving more quickly than the federal government. I sometimes think we're giving the impetus to the other levels of government to move now, although it was their initiative in the first place . . .*
> *The government still controls Ontario from a rural base. That's where it wins its elections. Out there, there's real opposition, no question. The government needs to get a bit of the ethnic vote back . . . It's a delicate thing for them to deal with and I think they know that. It's not so delicate for us*

> *because we have made it a public priority. If the rest of the province is going to howl, we don't have to deal with that. The Ministry does.* (Trustee)
>
> *I think the federal government's attitude is scandalous. They bring in the immigrants and then leave the problems in the lap of the local taxpayer. The federal representatives have been asked several times, but there is no response.* (Trustee)
>
> *What is the Board really able to do? Funding of the ESL program depends on Metro. There is no federal money. Without funding, the recommendation will only lead to frustrations because of raised expectations, without delivery.* (Principal)
>
> *Problems with the program (Chinese) are funding, and the experimental aspect which requires year to year approval from the Ministry. This leaves the Chinese parents insecure and makes planning difficult.* (Community representative)

Insufficient Board funding, and Board allocation of its multicultural budget, are also identified as problems. It points to the fact that one's view of allocation of any resources depends very much on one's goals within multiculturalism. For example, several respondents see the learning of English as the main goal and therefore feel that ESL program funding should come first:

> *One of the problems is that the Board hasn't come through with the goodies. In the case of booster programs, there has been no additional staff. In fact, in my case I have been cut from a full teacher to half-time. Metro has over-ruled the whole multicultural policy through its teacher negotiations.* (Principal)
>
> *English is the thing that will get these kids out of this area. The community is supported by the ESL teachers and all their views are diametrically opposed to what the trustees want which is language maintenance.* (Principal)
>
> *The Board says one thing about multiculturalism and helping the kids but they refused adamantly to allow a formula for ESL teachers which would not sacrifice the pupil-teacher ratio in the regular classroom. Therefore, the Board is essentially dishonest.* (Teacher representative)
>
> *Funding is another problem, absolutely good if it can be funded where help is needed, but for example, for a*

> *specific teaching problem, if the politicians send a School Community Relations officer instead of a teacher, then cripes we're in trouble.* (Area superintendent)

These views then, are probably based on a specific priority of teaching English to immigrant children, which represents one of the sub-goals of Board Policy. Awareness of some of these concerns is stated by a trustee as follows:

> *I think the dilemma this year is that in English as a Second Language, the Board feels that we got shafted by the Metro formula. How can you implement something you passed when you have fewer resources than you had the year before? And I think the teachers feel that very real frustration. I think their comment would be: 'Don't pass something unless you can deliver, because all you do is create expectations, anxiety for both ourselves and the community, and then when it's not delivered we get blamed; we're on the firing line. Your egos are intact. You can say 'We passed a policy.'*

Another type of goal relates to supporting the language and culture of a given ethnic group:

> *The Board has been advocating a multicultural policy for a year and it's very superficial because there is no implementation. For example, concerning the Chinese-Canadian program, the parents are the only ones looking for funds and staff and resources despite the Board saying it's trying to promote multiculturalism in the schools.* (Community representative)

This problem was realized by trustees, one of whom said:

> *Ethnic communities are not satisfied. They want a third language program but we couldn't afford that and said so.* (Trustee)

In other words, the immediate priorities of the Board appear to be in the areas of English as a Second Language and booster programs (and in broader-based curriculum reform as we will see) rather than in support of language and cultural maintenance.

Curriculum reform is a priority also for some respondents but the way the curriculum is changed depends on the respondents' goals vis-a-vis multiculturalism e.g. whether the priority is teaching immigrants English, or whether the curriculum should reflect the culture of ethnic groups in society. A small number of respondents think that multiculturalism should pervade the whole curriculum. It is clear from the interviews that this latter view is held by only a minority of principals:

> *Teachers should know the educational system and materials used by kids in the Caribbean. There is the need to accommodate materials from various backgrounds. This is now being attempted.* (Admin. staff)

> *Some teachers expressed the view that they were not happy with the social sciences program because there was not enough material about the different peoples that make up the country. They maintained that we should teach more about Canada and changes that reflected the different ethnic groups.*
>
> *I am critical of the Curriculum Division of the Board and the Ministry for not providing materials and guidelines. It is almost a unanimous complaint from both teachers and principals. We have had philosophy up to here. Certainly schools will interpret curriculum differently, but teachers should not have to write their own subject matter, particularly in the areas of language arts and social studies.* (Principal)

> *The important thing is to see how multiculturalism can be worked into several courses, not to provide a single multicultural course.* (Principal)

In summary, the problem in the area of curriculum is twofold. First is the need to develop new materials appropriate to ethnic groups which make up the population. Second, there is the problem of relating to teachers in such a way that they will actually use the new materials. The latter issue concerns the process of change, which will be examined later.

The question to be looked at now is how the Board is attempting to meet the needs. Because the current multicultural budget is insufficient, the Board has attempted to raise money through external financing and a different allocation of existing resources.

One of the *ad hoc* methods of obtaining external funds in the past year has been the use of communities of LIP grants. [A federal program to alleviate unemployment by providing funds (on the average from $10,000 to $30,000 for Local Initiative Projects (LIP) in the area of community or social improvement.] Two of some thirty projects funded in this way, totalling about $600,000, are described by elementary principals:

> *We got a LIP grant for our program. Program helpers — three Greek mothers in grades 1, 2 and 3 who are in each class for half a day, but work at the school full-time, and they sit with the new Greek children — mostly*

> *reading on a 1:1 basis. This is very important for new children. Always work on a year-to-year basis. The grant ends June 25 and we don't know if it will be renewed.* (Elementary principal)
>
> *The program started January 26 for 6 months. We had a LIP grant of $11,000 which paid for the whole program. We hired four workers — one Spanish, French, Arabic, and English. Two were linguists. All operated as teachers' aides.* (Elementary principal)

There is also the expectation that some way will be found to obtain additional funds from the provincial government:

> *We hope to get financial support from the Ministry of Culture and Recreation.*
>
> *The Ministry of Education will have to support this financially. There's too much pressure on them. And if they want to bring back the ethnic vote the government has to get back into the city.* (Trustee)

Finally, within the system a number of decisions have been taken to provide additional personnel,e.g. the establishment of the School Community Relations Department.

In the area of new materials, over twenty curriculum development projects were started in the summer of 1976 and teachers were hired to help rewrite curricula (Recommendation 36 of the Work Group Report).

Separate resources being directed at implementation are considered to be crucial by one trustee:

> *Very small implementation of policy so far. It's been a slow start. One of our major gaps in our system is a good implementation mechanism. I think the difference between this and some other reports is that there is financial commitment, and some staff allotted to it.*

Also a vast amount of time is being spent by existing personnel at all levels of the system (see also Part VI on policy and costs).

5. Multiple Demands

The next two sections — multiple demands and the process of change — are closely related in the sense that the demands of new programs add to the already staggering mass of expectations with which people at all levels of the system must contend. To a large extent, these factors indicate that much of the problem of change arises from the practical difficulties in bringing about change rather than any basic value resistance (this is not to say that the latter is not also an important factor for some people).

There are two aspects of the demands which clearly stand out in the interviews. The first is the sheer level of demand in dealing with the multiple problems of immigrant children. The second is the difficulties experienced in trying to meet many other priorities at the same time. These are examined in turn.

The first point is that almost 50% of students in the Toronto system do not have English as their first language. This must be kept in mind when referring to the problems in teaching these children:

> *Because of the large number of immigrants in the schools, the classroom teacher finds it very difficult to provide the programs which the Board and the Minister want to provide. It is enough of a struggle and they struggle hard, just to teach English.* (Elementary principal)

> *Some opposition can also be detected in the teaching ranks and I can understand teachers' concerns. The children have so many strikes against them. Portuguese is the only language used at home. They have no books. TV is used for babysitting. Since both parents work, the kids don't go to bed until 11 p.m.* (Elementary principal)

> *One of the recommendations of the report is that in the elementary division we teach the cultural background of all the kids. In this school that is almost an impossibility. I cannot expect my staff to know about every group.* (Elementary principal)

> *We received some Blacks in late November. It was snowing and cold. It was a Monday morning. I asked them when they left Kingston. They said, 'on Friday'. Can you imagine the shock along with everything else.* (Elementary principal)

Others refer to numerous teenage students arriving with limited elementary schooling, the large influx of groups, and the large turnover in enrolment in many schools.

> *We have 1100 - 1200 kids. Here 1/4 to 1/3 are Blacks, mostly West Indian. Ten percent are East Indian from the West Indies. Five to ten percent*

> *are East Indian from India or Pakistan. Ten to 15% are Portuguese. Ten percent are Asian (generally China, Japan, Korea). There's a scattering of other nations — 42 — countries represented in this school. We have 100% transiency. Last year 1200 people came in or left. We have a core of about 300 who stay from kindergarten up — a mix of ethnic groups.* (Elementary principal)

> *400 children left and 400 new ones came in. That's a standard year. Transiency is a crucial problem in downtown Toronto.* (Elementary principal)

The impact of demands is also felt in relation to non-multicultural priorities:

> *This group of eager beaver trustees have moved without realizing that the teachers are swamped with other things.* (Elementary principal)

> *How much stress should we put on this when we are not even doing the basic things in maths and English. Really we have to look at priorities, and multiculturalism is not a priority.* (Secondary principal)

> *One of the hazards with all this activity is that we have been thrown into too many functions all at once. There is more than just the multicultural perspective. There is all that material in the new Ministry guidelines at the K - 6 level in all of its complexity.* (Area superintendent)

> *The Board has these lofty theories. It would do some of these trustees good to live in a school for a month and follow the students around. It would be an eye opener for them.* (Secondary principal)

If demands were decreased, then the subsequent decrease in pressure might make conditions more favourable for implementation of a multicultural policy. This would certainly hold true in the case of demands imposed by a large immigrant influx. As one trustee says:

> *If (the rate of immigration) slowed down, it would give us the luxury of time and help our people deal with what's going on in an easier fashion.*

In fact, in 1976, the rate of increase has been reduced because of tighter federal policies. In the first quarter of 1976 there was a reduction of 25%. Total immigration was 32,359, down from 43,448 in the corresponding quarter of the previous year. Thirty-five percent of the total was from Europe (compared to 42.2% a year ago). Ontario led all provinces with 15,790 immigrants, followed by Quebec with 6,023.

Recognition of demands imposed by multiculturalism is reflected in recent policy decisions which might reduce the area office workload and will likely increase its staff (Recommendation 13 and 14 — Decentralization Report). In general, policy makers in the system are increasingly aware that more time and resources will have to be devoted to the complex problem of implementation.

6. Process of Change

The process of change concerns *the relationships* among groups during the time of policy making and implementation, and particularly, how group members perceive these relationships. We analyze the interviews in three ways. First, (a) we attempt to characterize how people experience the overall process of change. Second, and third (b and c), we focus on *specific* crucial elements of the change process, namely, the perception of the newly established School Community Relations Department, and the process of curriculum change.

a) Overall Process of Change

How do people experience, in general,the series of events that have been happening? From the interviews it would be accurate to characterize the experience in two ways: (i) the rapidity of change and (ii) the lack of involvement.

i. *The Rapidity of Change and Fear of Unkown.* The first is closely related to multiple demands in that many people feel that the overall rush of events is making it impossible to implement decisions. As stated by one respondent:

> *There are too many ideas for which the principals and teachers are not ready and are being pushed too fast. It's a dfficult judgment because the old system left too many things the way they were too long. The morale of the teaching staff is very low, because the power has gone from the professionals to the trustees, and because of future shock — the number of changes. Trustees admit that they have two-year eternities. They will say 'we ask too much of those people' and then go on asking.* (Admin. staff)

Part of the problem of the rapidity of change is that people are not being helped to cope with their anxieties brought about by changes. In the words of one trustee:

> *One of the things I think we missed in the report, in a sense, was how do we help the people who have lived here all their lives deal with the changes coming on them, and to deal with the people coming here. Not to view it as a frightening kind of thing but as a healthy kind of thing for this city in the long term. We don't direct much attention to that. That certainly is a constituency that in my mind is not racist out of value. They are probably people who believe in equality of people. But there are some tingling things down in their gut that worry them, and this mass arrival of various groups starts to scare them.*

Another aspect of the anxieties of change is the feeling that promotions and jobs will be affected:

> *I envisage the report as a further pressure to continue experiences or extend them so this will change job patterns. Teachers are scared of losing their jobs. One teacher of a school which has a lot of Italians asked me yesterday whether the program will mean we are going to have Italians teaching in Italian, and she as an English speaking teacher will lose her job.* (Area superintendent)

> *I don't believe that it is a good idea to appoint a Portuguese principal here, just because a majority of the people in the school are Portuguese. But from the political pressures, I think it is coming that way. The criteria should be one's ability to deal with people, to be open, regardless of ethnic origin.* (Area superintendent)

ii. Lack of Involvement and Feelings of Imposition. One of the most controversial aspects of the whole process in the development of policy in Toronto is the extent to which people were involved. As we have seen in Part V, the work group saw themselves as proceeding in a way that provided many opportunities for input into the policy, did in fact conduct many hearings, and did receive numerous briefs. But providing *the opportunity* for input does not mean that people will feel that they are adequately represented in policy-making groups, or that their views will be listened to. This feeling of lack of involvement is definitely held by many secondary school principals and apparently by many teachers, especially at the secondary level:

> *The reaction I'm getting from other principals is that the report was drawn up without consultation of the principals, that some input was provided by several groups, but in fact it was already a 'fait accompli'.* (Teacher representative)

> *The Multicultural Work Group was seen as a direct arm of the trustees. We have a tradition of very democratic decision-making in this school and the teachers would resent any intervention whether from the Director of Education or the trustees. In that respect they tend to agree with Jaffary's suggestions (Report on Decentralization).* (Secondary principal)

Another aspect of lack of involvement was that expressed by some area superintendents who felt the work group (a Board committee) had not given adequate recognition to the pioneering work done by the superintendents and others in meeting immigrant needs over the past 20 years:

> *It's unfortunate that schools were downgraded in the report. We fought the battle and made a lot of efforts. The work group did not discover the programs we had carried out. There was a lot of resentment from people involved in such programs because they perceived that their efforts of pioneering a lot of programs were not recognized in the report.*

and,

> *We have done more than the work group thinks we have.*

Several more specific references to lack of involvement appear below in reference to the SCR and curriculum changes. Other people referred to the changing relationships between trustees on the one hand, and principals and teachers on the other, the lack of time and attention paid to helping people change, and the lack of respect for the knowledge, experience and contribution of principals and teachers in the process.

> *There is a measure of distrust between the princpals and the trustees. Trustees are becoming more and more involved in making administrative decisions. They see it as important to become a part of all major decisions.* (Elementary principal)

> *The principal might view community input as threatening so he has to learn how to set this up without*

> *losing control. Also need more teacher input. If more input, probably more teachers will sit with the decision.* (Elementary principal)

> *You don't want to polarize the staff. You have to respect their professional views. You just can't lay it on the staff. You have to be responsive to both the community and the staff.* (Principal)

> *I have a fear that trustees will want things to happen too fast, that energies will be dissipated. To sell an attitude is harder than selling a tangible product. Has to be seen to work so that those who have a fear of its can become enthusiastic. Don't force it on people in a situation where it isn't realistic.* (Elementary principal)

This dilemma (on the one hand, the work group feels that there was a process of consultation, and on the other, many school personnel feel that there was not) might be explained by several factors: (1) No secondary school principals or teachers served on the work group. (2) Probably insufficient attention paid to some of the issues discussed in this section such as multiple demands, and the difficulties of learning new roles. (3) Rapidity of change. (4) Resistance due to vested interests and an academic orientation to teaching which does not view multiculturalism as an educational priority. (5) Low teacher morale at the secondary level due to a long strike which further polarized teachers and trustees.

In any case, now that the Board has approved its policy, the issues which were ignored during policy-making are now being brought sharply into focus. More people in the system are recognizing these issues:

> *I wrote a paper for the trustees recently in which I said the first phase from 70-73 was confrontation, now from 73-76 a policy formation phase with pretty good consultation, but we have now entered an implementation phase, getting on with the job, and I facetiously said about the teacher in the classroom, which is where the policy should really mean something, I suspect most of them don't even know about it.* (Trustee)

> *There is a gap between policy makers and those who have to carry it out. Tremendous discussion takes place at the policy level, but not at the implementation level.* (Admin. staff)

Having discussed the process of change from a negative viewpoint, we will now consider the positive aspects. In general, many people recognize that the work group process of policy-making stimulated fairly widespread awareness in a short time, involved numerous people, and even led to changed attitudes. In fact, it created a momentum for change that will be difficult to stop:

> *The policy was developed in stages. We were first concerned with encouraging the expression of opinion from the communities, particularly the disenfranchised ones — the Italians, the Portuguese, and the West Indians who had not been well reckoned with by the education system. They would never have presented themselves at the school. In this we have been successful. We have moved a long way.* (Trustee)

> *The Board had to develop a mechanism that would make them more responsible to the community. The work group was the thing. It is an exciting process. It involves all groups in public hearings from which came the recommendations.* (Secondary principal)

> *I think the major success of the work group format which took some two years was that in the process, attitudes shifted. So I think there is a degree of receptivity to moving.* (Trustee)

> *I think the Board has gone too far to retreat. Up to this point the policy has been the product of certain individuals, but there has been a change on the part of others from a dual English-French position to a multicultural position.* (Elementary principal)

At the school level this momentum has not as yet made any major impact, but some individual changes are beginning to occur.

Some are quite fundamental:

> *One of these teachers who held to her view strongly made an about turn. After working with some of the youngsters she said 'Now I realize what you are talking about. The kids respond so much more readily when their background is taken into account.' Here is a teacher trained in England with 20 years experience, and who probably has about 10 year left. She was dead against the briefs, but she had seen how a few words in Polish helped to light up the eyes of a child.* (Elementary principal)

Others are more superficial:

> *Next fall I am going to get the parents into the auditorium and explain that we can meet informally and if there is something they don't like they can raise the matter and we will be there to explain. We need a two-way conversation. I want to do this before someone at the Board comes here to tell me what to do. I don't want them to come.* (Secondary principal)

b) The School Community Relations Department

The formation of the School Community Relations (SCR) Department, as we have seen in Part VI, was one of the main policy decisions arising out of the work group. The SCR Department was established within the curriculum division (school officers) with the members of the department working as liaison officers in the area offices under the supervision of the area superintendent. The main general function of the officers is to facilitate school-community communication. This entails the development of orientation programs both for the community regarding the school, and for school personnel regarding the community. By the summer of 1976 one officer and three workers had been hired to work in each of three areas, for a total of 12 staff. Further hiring will take place pending Board approval.

Following is a description of the problems perceived in the establishment of the SCR Department, its role in the system, and more broadly, how people view school-community relations. The SCR Department is also analyzed as a powerful force for change. The description is not an assessment of the effectiveness of the SCR Department but rather a catalogue of people's reactions to the process thus far.

Several principals, particularly at the secondary level, feel that the SCR Department was imposed on them, and many express the fear that the SCR officers will be an arm of the trustees, or of the community (and,by implication, not of the school).

> *Now the SCR officers are held suspect because they have been imposed. There is some concern that the officers will end up working for the trustees against the schools. Some of the principals perceive the chairman, vice-chairman of the Board, and head of SCR as a machine.* (Elementary principal)

> *Creation of all these special departments, social workers, and community workers results in so*

> *much overlapping. We say we don't have enough dollars and we need teachers in classrooms, yet we're creating hierarchies again.*(Elementary principal)

> *Concept of community liaison people a good one, but don't like to see it laid on. I've been told I'm getting one, but I don't want one.* (Secondary principal)

> *The Board is very hot on community liaison laid on without enough principals' involvement. Can't see the need for it.* (Secondary principal)

> *Principals are concerned because they see the SCR workers helping the community tell the principal what to do. It's a power conflict thing.* (Trustee)

> *One thing that is a concern here is the use of the school liaison people. The staff and community in my area said they don't need these people. The work group said principals need them, but principals said they need interpreters only.* (Area superintendent)

> *The SCR officers will not be accepted by the teachers. They will not be taken seriously because they are considered to be bleeding hearts. They will be seen like the social workers, showing the kids how to beat the system. The SCR officers might articulate the feelings of the community, but how are they going to implement the recommendation? There is no authority structure. Here the general does not give orders. Even if he does, all the teachers will say is "buzz off". The guidelines on multiculturalism are just another level of irritation.* (Community representative)

> *These moves (SCR department) to undercut the principal can only lead to power politics being played by different minority groups at the expense of the school. The SCR officers and other forms of community involvement will only serve to remove the principal further from the community.* (Secondary principal)

> *I can't really say if the trustees will use the SCR officers to get control of the school. It would be tragic if the officers became servants of the trustees rather than of the school. I am not sure if the trustees are aware of this possibility.* (Teacher representative)

As we will see later, several trustees, and the SCR staff itself, *are* very much aware of this possibility

It is worth comparing some of the above quotes with the following statement in the final report of the work group:

> *There was virtually no dissent (emphasis in original) from the idea that an urgent and critical requirement existed for full communication between home and school for all Toronto schools.* (p. 38)

This is certainly not a valid conclusion, nor justification for the establishment of a SCR department,according to the above-quoted secondary school principals. In terms of the process of change, such an absolute statement could be regarded as proof positive that the work group was out of touch with the views of the above.

Respondents also refer to the larger school-community relations picture. Their comments contribute to an understanding of how the secondary schools have a different orientation to, and history of, relating to their communities than do the elementary schools:

> *Fifty-four percent of the public school teachers have degrees, but in liberal arts. Secondary school teachers are trained differently. They follow specific study at university e.g., an honours program. They are apt to have less communication with parents and less need for it. (emphasis added) They don't need the SCR officer to tell them how to teach a subject.* (Teacher representative)

> *At the secondary level, more than at the elementary level, there has evolved a kind of coalition among the teachers insisting on a return to the basics. In the elementary school there has always been something of a tradition in taking the kid where he was.* (Admin. staff)

> *The problem arises when the school is not integrated with the community. There is the feeling that children do not have the same chance unless they become Anglicized.* (Community representative)

In summary there seems to be a double difficulty at the secondary level: (1) the orientation of many secondary school principals and teachers to the need for community involvement is different to begin with;(2) the process of policy making so far has not involved them adequately from their point of view and this has further aggravated the relationship.

Given the reservations toward the SCR Department which we reported above, it has been remarkably successful in its first few months of existence. This early success to a large extent is accounted for because SCR officers and others recognize the reservations and fears that some principals and teachers hold. It is still too early to tell if they will be successful, but some concrete steps have been taken to overcome these reservations. The placement of the SCR Department in the curriculum division means the officers are working under the direction of area superintendents, in collaboration with principals. Another step has been the determination that building credibility with the schools is the most important priority.

Many people elaborated on various aspects of this tentative success, and showed sensitivity to the problems:

> *The Board hired some superior people, very talented, competent, and enthusiastic. Principal attitudes are changing, even very recently in the last few weeks. After our orientation program for the staff they feel pretty good.*
>
> *What could ruin it is if trustees exert pressure on SCR workers and start sending them out to get information for them. But I think the co-ordinator of the SCR Department knows enough to say no.* (Elementary principal)
>
> *The SCR Department exists to bring genuine reaction and input into the curriculum. There are checks and safeguards so I don't think they will become arms of the trustees. The SCR officers work closely with us and the ESL and language program. A second safeguard is that the area superintendent and the principal are kept informed in all the process and give approval at every stage.* (Admin. staff)
>
> *The SCR officers do not cater to the trustees. When they first see a problem, they go to the area superintendent and the principal. These SCR officers are perfectly aware that if there is no co-operation with the school they won't get anything done at all. Teachers who see SCR officers acting for the trustees are under a false apprehension.* (Admin. staff)
>
> *School community relations is a two way street. Teacher education and community education.* (SCR Department member)
>
> *A lot will depend on the SCR Department, because it is starting in an interesting way. It's starting on the basis of hiring outsiders who are trying to build credibility with the system first, before credibility with the communities. Some of them have already paid their dues to the community, and the community knows that.* (Trustee)

Another trustee states how crucial he sees the SCR Department, and the whole set of policies which the Board has passed:

> *If the communities feel no success, they will start to move into a demand stage on a quota system, and then a violent stage. I think that we have learned enough from south of the border to short circuit some of these things, and that's why I think that starting two years ago with the Work Group gives us a little lead time to initiate, rather than having to react to an issue.* (Trustee)

c) The Process of Curriculum Reform

Curriculum reform is a major component of multicultural policy. From the perspective implementation we are more concerned here with *the relationships* among the various people who have to produce and implement the curriculum, than with the content of the new curriculum *per se.* In the Toronto system there are at least three key linkages: (1) between the Board and the central Curriculum Division (2) between the Curriculum Division (which is responsible for producing curricula) and the area superintendents and (3) between the area superintendents and schools. These relationships embody several of the problems we have discussed earlier.

At the level of the Board and the Curriculum Division, the main problem is the rapidity of change and the unrealistic demands being placed on people to produce new materials. This is recognized by both trustees and division members and is stated most clearly by the following trustee:

> *I think the curriculum people are supportive. I think the dilemma for them is that we never giver them the time to do it and by the time we have passed it we are on to our next project. So I think their dilemma is to show pragmatic support of implementation but the bloody Board won't let them do it. We don't give them time. We make them attend meetings and meetings.*
>
> *So that the level of support and commitment is related in my mind not so much to a philosophical commitment, but to an energy/time lag. If the time is there, their enthusiasm increases. Throughout the system, this energy/time dilemma increases anxiety and decreases enthusiasm. If we could give more time, those two words would reverse themselves.* (Trustee)

The same problem of lack of time to devote to curriculum exists between the Curriculum Division and area superintendents, but it is compounded by differences of opinion on the part of some people about the roles of area superintendents in the curriculum process. This is stated at some length in the following:

> *Implementation must be done through the area superintendents. We can't force them to implement recommendations and anything we feed them is merely for consideration and cannot be mandatory, and trustees don't understand that superintendents and teachers won't take predigested packs. The process of developing a new curriculum is long and onerous and involves area superintendents, community members, teachers, and principals at every step.*
>
> *In the decentralization report, area superintendents objected to being considered curriculum enforcers, not curriculum leaders, but it's true they don't have time for special curriculum development.*
>
> *Sometimes the disagreement is ambivalent. Four or five months ago one told me to hurry and get out the curriculum materials faster because the teachers needed them and they were using staff from another Board. When the materials were finally out, the superintendent said they weren't proper, because there had been no process of consultation with the teachers.* (Admin. staff)

And by another respondent in these words:

> *The friction between some of the area superintendents and the Curriculum Division is the kind of internal politics that bothers me. The area superintendents are too busy to become involved.* (Admin. staff)

Some area superintendents are well aware of the difficulties:

> *One problem I see in terms of the curriculum comes from pressure by trustees. There seem to be so many recommendations coming forward before there's time to implement the older recommendations. That's not the fault of the Curriculum Division but of the trustees.* (Area superintendent)

It does seem to be an unresolved issue, with area superintendents wanting more of a role:

> *I would hope that area superintendents would initiate and facilitate curriculum in close association with the curriculum division.* (Area superintendent)

The issues are even more complex vis-a-vis the schools. It is at this point that the strands of the process must be separated because different people have different expectations. There are possibly two different processes required depending on whether we are referring to principals and teachers who are committed to multicultural curriculum reform, or to those who are not. For the former group (probably a minority in the system at this time) the greatest need is to receive new materials. Here the short term emphasis would have to be on the rapid production of new materials. The Board is working on this now. (See Part VI). Recall that this need was expressed forcefully by an elementary school principal in the earlier curriculum section. It is also restated by an area superintendent:

> *We need to develop curricula. That means identifying needs and programming the teacher. That's the in-service part of it. But there is the problem of time, so the best thing is to develop packaged programs that the teachers can use readily.*

The production and availability of materials *per se*, however, is not the main problem in dealing with the larger principal and teacher population, especially at the secondary level. A secondary school principal also implies that changes should be defined by teachers:

> *Multiculturalism is a priority in terms of adjustment in the curriculum. Both the Board curriculum staff and the school should be involved. We don't need anyone coming in to tell us what to do. What we need is assistance in the preparation of materials.*
> (Secondary principal)

A teacher representative suggests that the SCR officers can have a limited but important role to play in curriculum reform:

> *The SCR officers should provide a link between home and school. To suggest modification in content of the curriculum in the light of community needs is legitimate, but to suggest changes in the style or design of the curriculum, no. There is no teaching competence. The secondary school teachers don't need the SCR officer to tell them how to teach a subject. If they tried to force teachers to do this, they would have a revolution on their hands.*

It is also important to note that the Curriculum Division has very little direct involvement with schools because it is the Area superintendents' responsibility:

> *A big problem is that we don't get out to the schools often anymore. There is increasingly little communi-*

cation between the principals and the curriculum department, but the area superintendents are in touch with them all the time. If we don't have the principals' support we're dead. (Admin. staff)

In the short run, then, emphasis on curriculum development will provide much needed materials for those who want them. At the same time, for those who don't want them, one might predict that this process will not result in much curriculum change at the classroom level.

In this section, we have tried to separate the *task* of curriculum development from the *process* of relating to people who are instrumental in putting the change into practice. Overall, the problems might be summarized as follows. First, the demands of changing policy are so great and immediate that even those who are committed to change are finding it difficult to spend time on implementation. Second, the ambiguity, differences of opinion,and lack of time make it difficult for the Curriculum Division and area superintendents to collaborate effectively. Third, the cumulative effect of the first two points is that principals and teachers are not yet adequately involved in a *process* of curriculum reform with area superintendents and the Curriculum Division. Fourth, if more principals and teachers do become involved at later stages, as they will e.g. in in-service workshops, their *attitude to the process up to that point* might affect the likelihood of their learning and utilizing the materials.

In the meantime, the production of curriculum materials in the short run should meet some immediate needs of teachers who want more resources made available.

In concluding PartVIIon "What People Say", it is worthwhile contrasting two types of dangers that could be indicative of whether the policy takes hold — the danger of the highly committed and that of the uncommitted.

Much of the *initiation* has been the result of a small number of individuals. The time and energy that these people have contributed to policy development could not possibly be sustained for very long. The dangers of the highly committed are that they may either burn themselves out, or try to bring about too many policy changes in the short run without providing enough time and support for implementation. There is a fine line between expecting too much, and putting pressure on people to change.

The danger of those with little or no commitment is that they neither see the problem, nor understand the implications of policy for practice. This is probably best summed up by the principal who was somewhat suprised and annoyed about this investigation of multiculturalism:

> *I thought that after two years of work by the work group, that would have been it for a while.*
> (Elementary principal)

The next two years will likely determine if the vast majority in the system, that is,those people in between the highly committed and the uncommitted, can be mobilized to form a critical mass of movement toward implementing and further developing multicultural programs in Toronto. Many trustees and administrators are cautiously optimistic, but no one can say for certain what these next two years will bring.

Appendix A

METHODOLOGY

In the fall of 1975, Dr. Per Dalin of IMTEC approached the Toronto Board of Education and the Ontario Ministry of Education concerning possible participation in the International Seminar planned for 1976 on the theme "Managing Change in Urban Education". It was eventually agreed that Ontario/Toronto would participate in the Seminar and that a case study would be prepared detailing Toronto's experience in (a) Multiculturalism and (b) Management, Governance and Finance. The Ontario Ministry of Education made clear its interest in the project by providing a $33,000 research contract which stipulated that:

> "The research undertaken shall provide sufficient and reliable data to:
>
> 2.1 Determine to what degree and in which ways the problems of cultural pluralism are being met by the Board of Education for the City of Toronto;
>
> 2.2 Give an overview of the unique financial structure and government of Metropolitan Toronto and within this context a description of the methods being used to ascertain incremental costs of 2.1 above;
>
> 2.3 The Contractor shall prepare a report to the Minister describing the process, the results, and the value of the study".

Both the Ministry and the Board of Education looked to the case study to condense and summarize the numerous reports and documents prepared during the previous decade and to obtain informed international reaction to their current understanding of their own problems and proposed solutions. Moreover, the Board saw in the preparation of the case study an opportunity for self-evaluation at a critical stage in its own evolution.

Once the contract was signed, an Advisory Committee was struck to assist the Principal Investigator to develop the study. The composition of the committee was designed to ensure that the case study took full account and advantage of previous work and available expertise. Besides a sociologist from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the committee consisted of the Chairman and Vice-chairman of the Board, Superintendent of Special Services (Chairperson of the Committee), an elementary and a secondary school principal, the School Community Liaison Officer, Assistant Superintendent-Curriculum, an Assistant Area Superintendent, the Director of Information and Publications, the Administrative Assistant to the Comptroller of Finance and the Acting Director of Research as Principal-Investigator.

This committee participated in the study, by proposing and critiquing the design, suggesting resource documents, developing a list of persons to be interviewed, vetting the interview schedule, reviewing the various drafts and the final version of the report. Members of the Advisory Committee were also named to participate in the seminar and to present the case study. The two supervisory officials from the Ministry of Education, named in the research contract, also attended the committee meetings.

The prime print resources for the study were existing Board-generated reports or documents, briefs submitted by various groups and organizations to Work Groups or Committees, and reports from other agencies or levels of government. These are listed in the bibliography.

It was decided that interview data was also needed to insure that the study reflected the current situation and to help reconcile contradictions, clarify ambiguities, and fill in gaps in the existing material. In-depth interviews were conducted during May, June, and July with some 78 selected persons both inside the system and in the community. Within the system, interviews were conducted with trustees, school principals, teacher representatives, senior and middle level administrators and those with key roles with respect to the community or multicultural programs. Interviews were also conducted with 17 persons representing various ethnic and community groups. In most cases persons were selected who were deemed knowledgeable and articulate regardless of their formal position in an organization. In a few cases, organizations designated spokesmen to represent their position.

The bulk of the interviewing was done by a doctoral student and a professional journalist. The interviews were conducted near the end of the school year in the aftermath of a long strike by secondary school teachers. Thus, it was not possible to include a cross section of teaching staff.

The questionnaire was designed to record basic demographic data about the respondent as well as ethnic background and language capabilities within the family. The questionnaires were delivered to the respondents prior to the interview so that they could fill out the first (demographic) section and familiarize themselves with the topics to be covered. The second part of the questionnaire elicited responses about the meaning of multiculturalism, the cultural character of Canadian society and possible directions for that society. Reactions were also sought concerning specific and proposed programs of a bilingual or multicultural nature.

The third and final part of the questionnaire was used only for persons associated with specific multicultural programs. They were asked how the program had begun, its current objectives, costs and funding and whether other programs were still needed.

Most of the interviews were 1-1/2 to 2 hrs. in length. Some were completed within an hour, a few took 3 to 4 hours. The interviewers took notes during the interviews and transcribed these immediately after the interviews, retaining the verbatim flavor as much as possible. Later these completed transcripts were analysed for answers to the series of questions which constituted the interview schedule. (Appendix E). These questions were used during the interview as leading or supplementary questions or as probes to the answers given on the questionnaire. In other words the respondents were required to think about the topics when completing the questionnaire prior to the interview.

Then they were interviewed at length about their answers to the questionnaire, reasons underlying their answers and related issues. This procedure yielded reports rich in anecdotes, introspection, explanation, and speculation.

The interviews were analyzed by Dr. Fullan of O.I.S.E. to establish the range of meanings of multiculturalism held by the respondents. Their perceptions of school board policy and of forces operating in support of or in opposition to its implementation were also examined. The interview data gives an overview of the change processes at work in the Toronto system in the words of those caught up in those processes.

The complete draft of the report was reviewed by the Advisory Committee and revisions were made,taking account of the criticisms and suggestions received. At this stage a decision was made not to condense the material into 50 pages as originally planned. The increased readability gained through the narrative style was judged to compensate for the extra length. The extra detail in the longer version was deemed to add essential meaning and flavor to the report. A brief introduction to the case study was prepared for distribution to the participants prior to the seminar.

The presentation of the case at the seminar was supplemented by a film — Between Two Worlds — and by a number of trustees and staff who led group sessions on the following themes:

a) Administration Centralization/Decentralization
b) Curriculum Development
c) Finance: Metro Budget Formula Review Process
d) In-School Implementation of Policy (Coping)
e) Federal/Provincial/Local Relations
f) Research
g) New Canadianism or Multiculturalism

Appendix B

THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

School	East York	Etobicoke	North York	Scarborough	Toronto	York	Metropolitan Toronto School Board	TOTAL	Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board
Enrolments (full-time equivalent) September, 1975									
Elementary	9,160	31,219	58,511	51,163	55,788	12,911	—	219,115	85,609
Secondary	1,902	22,157	35,781	30,721	36,528	8,181	1,272	139,815	—
TOTAL	11,062	53,406	91,322	82,181	92,316	21,398	1,272	358,960	85,609
Number of Schools									
Elementary	16	62	116	105	97	23	—	419	169
Intermediate	5	12	29	16	13	5	—	80	20
Secondary	3	20	20	22	31	7	10	113	—
TOTAL	24	94	165	143	111	35	10	612	189
Number of Staff September, 1975									
Teaching /Elem.	462	1,555	2,922	2,560	3,099	676	—	11,274	4,055
Teaching /Sec.	297	1,342	2,171	1,899	2,302	520	166	8,697	—
Non-Teaching	264	1,134	2,060	1,749	2,902	519	183	8,811	1,050
TOTAL	1,023	4,031	7,153	6,208	8,303	1,715	349	28,782	5,105
Assessment, 1976:	$286,893,329	1,101,796,129	1,728,116,515	980,951,627	2,862,302,512	331,538,378	—	7,291,628,550*	—
Capital Budget 1975	$ 750,000	991,800	1,719,500	10,218,400	1,011,300	160,000	235,000	18,416,000	$26,839,831
Budgeted Gross Expenditures 1976									
Elementary	$ 13,085,211	44,502,817	81,913,473	69,517,035	93,712,131	18,738,942	42,160,785	363,660,724	122,501,798
Secondary	8,688,752	38,236,155	62,566,316	52,179,167	72,959,134	15,408,744	72,963,795	323,302,963	—
TOTAL	21,773,963	82,739,302	144,479,789	122,026,502	166,671,865	34,147,686	115,124,580	686,963,687	122,501,798

*Includes Separate School assessment

Appendix C-1

FACT FILE TORONTO 1976

As of September 30, 1976 the Toronto Board of Education was running a system of 146 elementary and secondary schools, attended by 95,000 pupils and staffed by 5,400 teachers and principals, with a 1976 operating budget of 167 million dollars. The Board also runs adult day schools, evening classes, summer schools, and special classes in English as a second language.

Thirty per cent of the students in Toronto Board of Education schools were born outside Canada, and almost 50 per cent do not have English as their first language. Children born in Portugal now make up the largest group of foreign-born students. The second largest is West Indian, whose numbers have more than tripled since 1970. Students born in Italy rank third, with China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan) fourth, Greece fifth, and Britain sixth.

The Board consists of 25 trustees who are publicly elected every two years, two from each of the city's 11 wards, and three by (Roman Catholic) Separate School supporters. The separate school trustees are not allowed to vote on questions pertaining only to the elementary schools, although on occasion a heated discussion has made members forget that rule.

The Chairman of the Board and five other trustees serve on the Metropolitan Toronto School Board which is described in a later section of this report. Trustees receive an annual stipend of $7,200. The Chairman gets an extra $3,600, and the Metro members an extra $2,400.

The Board has five standing committees — School Programs, Personnel and Organization, Business Administration, Public Information, and the Chairman's Committee. Special committees and work groups are from time to time appointed by the Board to look into specific problems — for example, alternatives in education, the community use of schools, multiculturalism, French instruction.

The chief executive officer of the Board is the Director of Education who is also the Secretary-Treasurer of the Board. Reporting to the Board through the Director are the Associate Director and the Superintendents or Comptrollers of five main divisions — Curriculum and Program, Personnel, Professional Services, Finance, and Buildings and Plant. Six Area Superintendents administer the six administrative areas the city is divided into.

Appendix C-2

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

Some School Statistics

PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1976

Junior – kindergarten to gr. 6. Senior – 7 & 8.

Number of Schools	114
Teachers *(Includes Special Education)*	3,057
Pupils *(Includes Special Education)*	58,378
Educational Assistants	350
Special Education Pupils	4,486
Special Education Teachers	504

SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1976

Number of Schools	32
Teachers *(Includes 51 Sp. Education)*	2,313
Students	36,735

CONTINUING ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Evening Classes (1975-76)	
Course Enrolments	29,042
Teachers	1,013
Day Classes	
Enrolment	559
Teachers	24
Summer School 1975 — Secondary	
New Credit Course Enrolments	2,478
Upgrading Credit Course Enrolments	4,382
Enrichment Course Enrolments	2,252
Teachers	400
Summer School 1975 — Elementary	
Enrolment	18,038
Teachers	210

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

Day-School Pupils	8,446
Day-School Teachers	235
Day-School for Adults Enrolment	459
Evening Classes Enrolment	5,251
Evening Classes Teachers	185
Summer School, School-age Students ('75)	4,394
Summer School, Adult Students ('75)	1,647

Some Financial Statistics

REVENUE BUDGET 1976

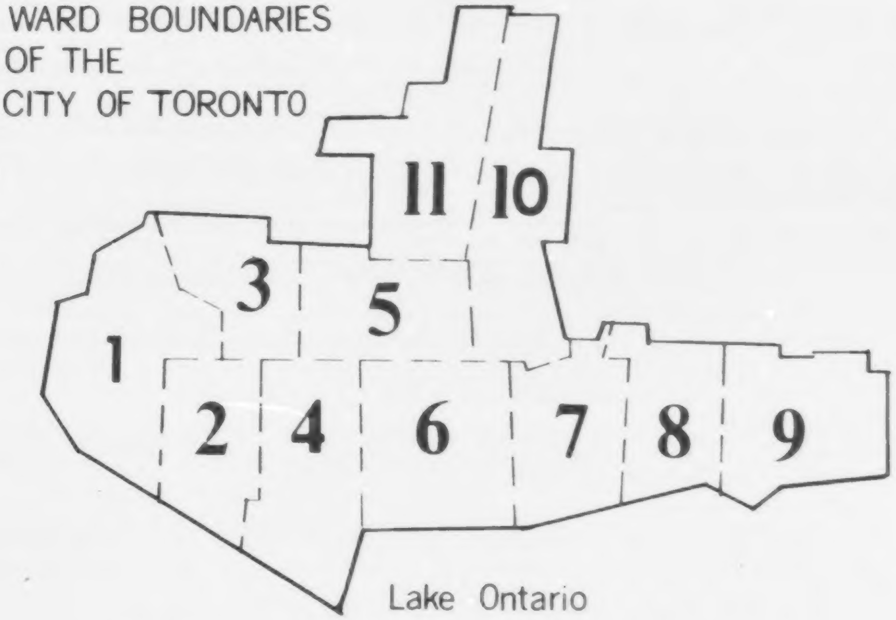
Metropolitan Toronto School Board	$152,785,021
Local Levy	939,064
Sundry Revenues	5,544,427
Surplus from Previous Year	8,342,417
Total	$167,610,929

EXPENDITURE BUDGET 1976

		%
Instruction	$119,432,290	71.3
Educational Services	4,268,175	2.5
Pupil Welfare Services	1,389,401	.8
Administration	3,138,056	1.9
Computer Services	619,002	.4
Plant Operations	18,435,336	11.0
Plant Maintenance	12,971,131	7.7
Transportation of Pupils	789,220	.5
School Cafeterias & Lunchrooms	1,870,340	1.1
Other Services	598,625	.4
Capital Expend. – Current Funds	4,080,853	2.4
General Transfers	18,500	
Total	$167,610,929	100%

Some Plant Statistics

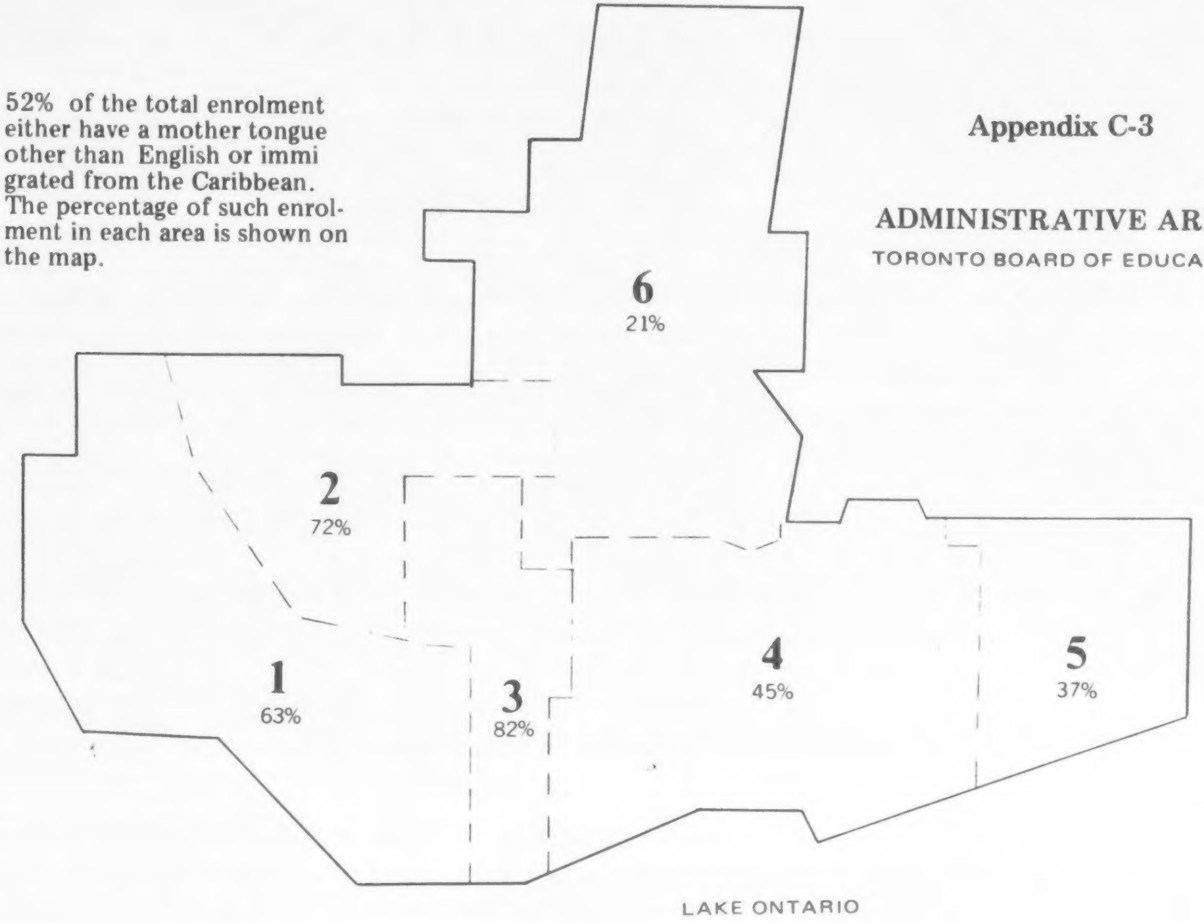
Replacement Value of Bldgs.	$465,710,332
Gross Area Bldgs. in Sq. ft.	13,445,721
Land Value	$272,823,705
Gross Area of Land in Acres	849.766
Swimming Pools	46
Athletic Fields	12
Cost of Equipment	$34,625,887
Portables	229
Number of Classrooms	3,897
Number of Buildings	145



Appendix C-3

ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION



52% of the total enrolment either have a mother tongue other than English or immigrated from the Caribbean. The percentage of such enrolment in each area is shown on the map.

6
21%
2
72%
1
63%
3
82%
4
45%
5
37%
LAKE ONTARIO

Appendix C-4

SELECTED MOTHER TONGUE OF STUDENTS IN THE SIX ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

Mother Tongue	AREA 1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
English	6661*	5158	3421	9667	11719	12743	49369
Only	43.2	38.7	24.0	61.8	67.9	81.2	53.9
Italian[1]	1127	3230	3404	268	1269	222	9520
	7.3	24.3	23.9	1.7	7.4	1.4	10.4
Greek[1]	522	1243	811	1741	1459	441	6217
	3.4	9.3	5.7	11.1	8.4	2.8	6.8
Chinese[1]	429	273	1924	1961	739	468	5794
	2.8	2.1	13.5	12.6	4.3	3.0	6.3
Portuguese[1]	2247	1441	3080	212	188	59	7227
	14.6	10.8	21.6	1.4	1.1	0.4	7.9
Other[2]	4433	1967	1608	1781	1880	1764	13433
	28.7	14.8	11.3	11.4	10.9	11.2	14.7
TOTAL NO.	15419	13312	14248	15630	17254	15697	91560[a]
TOTAL PERCENT	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* For each language, the first row indicates the number of students; the second row indicates the percentage of students.

[a] No information or missing: 1143 students 1975 data

[1] This includes students who learned English as a second language to this language, and those who reported learning English and this language at the same time.

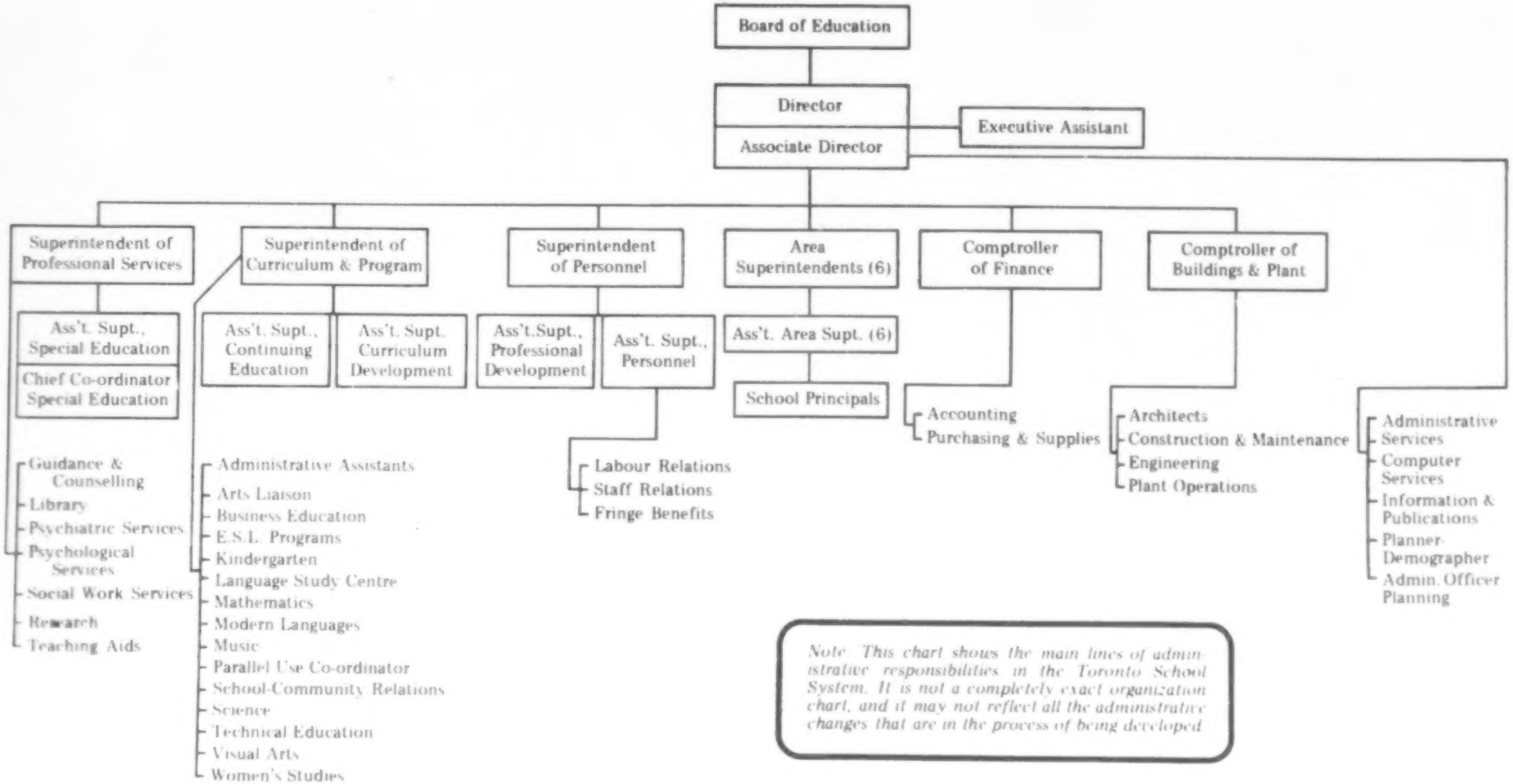
[2] This includes students who learned English as a second language to languages other than Italian, Greek, Chinese and Portuguese and those who learned English at the same time as those other languages.

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

Appendix C-5

(ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES)


Board of Education
Director
Associate Director
Executive Assistant
Superintendent of Professional Services
Ass't. Supt., Special Education
Chief Co-ordinator Special Education
Guidance & Counselling
Library
Psychiatric Services
Psychological Services
Social Work Services
Research
Teaching Aids
Superintendent of Curriculum & Program
Ass't. Supt., Continuing Education
Ass't. Supt. Curriculum Development
Administrative Assistants
Arts Liaison
Business Education
E.S.L. Programs
Kindergarten
Language Study Centre
Mathematics
Modern Languages
Music
Parallel Use Co-ordinator
School-Community Relations
Science
Technical Education
Visual Arts
Women's Studies
Superintendent of Personnel
Ass't.Supt., Professional Development
Ass't. Supt., Personnel
Labour Relations
Staff Relations
Fringe Benefits
Area Superintendents (6)
Ass't. Area Supt. (6)
School Principals
Comptroller of Finance
Accounting
Purchasing & Supplies
Comptroller of Buildings & Plant
Architects
Construction & Maintenance
Engineering
Plant Operations
Administrative Services
Computer Services
Information & Publications
Planner-Demographer
Admin. Officer Planning

Note: This chart shows the main lines of administrative responsibilities in the Toronto School System. It is not a completely exact organization chart, and it may not reflect all the administrative changes that are in the process of being developed.

Appendix D-1

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

New Canadian Program 1967 to 1976
Enrolments and Staff Numbers

	1966/67	67/68	68/69	69/70	70/71	71/72	72/73	73/74	74/75	75/76
Regular Day School										
Main Street — Teachers	16	16	16	17	20	18	16	16	14	27
(Greenwood)— Students	112	119	181	189	191	191	210	105	105	160
(Sept./74)										
Reception and Withdrawn										
— Teachers	157	169	174	176	163	166	135	159	191	218
— Students	4640	4095	4525	4506	4761	5907	5541	4355	7389	8286
Kindergarten Lay Ass'ts.	88	125	102	90	86	86	85	69	65	82
Other Classes										
Evening School										
— Teachers	295	316	342	312	561	230	128	172	166	185
— Students	9721	11772	10442	8296	12770	7316	11932	8063	6701	5251
Adult Day Classes										
— Teachers	5	7	22	31	28	22	20	15	15	18
— Students	115	198	519	550	592	670	1286	948	586	459
Summer Program										
— Teachers	129	130	97	125	148	261	258	222	282	241
— Students	3333	3273	2433	2714	2958	3051	3466	3277	3510	4394
— Adults	—	—	—	1800	2350	1712	1403	1207	1196	1647
Additional Staff										
Student Services										
Interpreter Counsellors	9	13	14	15	15	16	17	14	17	10
New Canadian Dept. Staff	4	4	4	5	5	5	4	4	5	8
School Community Relations	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15

*In Main St./Greenwood School, many more students pass through the school each year than the enrolments would indicate. As a student becomes proficient in English, he is placed in a regular class in a school in his own district. 816 students attened Greenwood School in 1975-76.

Appendix D-2

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

Total Incremental Cost of New Canadian Program for the years 1967 to 1976

Regular Day School	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976 Estimated
Main Street School	$ 182,865	187,059	210,159	221,879	282,392	364,611	393,780	410,579	628,018	761,530
Recept.+Withdrawn	1,095,187	1,129,657	1,388,229	1,078,644	1,345,390	1,318,263	1,266,301	1,343,197	1,655,713	1,938,036
Kindergarten Ass't.	337,920	490,000	360,000	345,600	346,000	386,484	357,000	368,212	289,250	326,923
	$1,615,972	1,806,716	1,958,388	1,646,123	1,973,782	2,069,358	2,017,081	2,121,988	2,572,981	3,026,489
Other Classes										
Evening Classes	$ 541,115	808,212	970,460	598,700	551,255	431,615	292,106	265,966	305,257	335,923
Adult Day Classes	50,190	126,348	321,687	328,000	271,190	276,736	208,879	155,614	216,223	281,987
Summer Program	128,551	143,851	111,889	150,000	169,240	215,332	188,823	215,689	288,985	338,203
	$ 719,856	1,078,411	1,404,036	1,076,700	991,685	923,683	689,808	637,269	810,465	956,113
Additional Staff for New Can. Program										
Student Service — Interpreter Counsel.	$ 74,841	123,364	138,333	168,981	183,028	225,677	202,300	189,200	227,900	143,800
Placement Officer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12,500
New Can. Dept.	46,758	53,451	55,181	72,652	73,817	76,874	65,551	71,711	80,265	106,613
Sch.-Community Relations Staff	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	193,000
Other Costs										
Publications	$ 14,559	20,775	14,700	14,700	10,775	8,000	14,700	11,500	17,800	19,500
Portables/Operating	26,900	27,140	28,315	28,197	26,673	27,891	41,925	41,895	20,396	20,250
/Amortized	45,856	70,312	45,044	40,855	34,873	36,924	59,226	62,072	29,059	30,750
	$2,544,742	3,180,169	3,643,997	3,048,208	3,294,633	3,368,407	3,090,591	3,135,635	3,758,866	4,509,015

Appendix D-3

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

Comparison of New Canadian Program to Total Board Programs

1967 to 1976

	Teachers, Principals and Vice-Principals			Enrolments			Expenditure		
	Total	New Canadian Teachers	% of Total	Total	New Canadian Enrolment	% of Total	Gross Expenditure	New Canadian Expenditure	% of Total
1967	5555	173	3.1%	108,474	4752	4.4%	$ 81,530,577	$ 2,544,742	3.1%
1968	5801	185	3.2%	108,900	4214	3.9%	93,644,629	3,180,169	3.4%
1969	5832	190	3.3%	110,743	4706	4.2%	102,460,725	3,643,997	3.6%
1970	5793	193	3.3%	107,664	4695	4.4%	116,421,021	3,048,208	2.6%
1971	5828	183	3.1%	106,356	4952	4.7%	119,137,895	3,294,633	2.8%
1972	5838	184	3.2%	99,876	6098	6.1%	122,435,583	3,368,407	2.8%
1973	5387	151	2.8%	100,518	5751	5.7%	121,207,150	3,090,591	2.5%
1974	5127	175	3.4%	97,082	4460	4.6%	131,720,880	3,135,635	2.4%
1975	5228	205	3.9%	97,515	7494	7.7%	147,494,969	3,758,866	2.5%
1976 (estimated)	5382	245	4.6%	97,410	8446	8.7%	167,610,929	4,470,082	2.7%

Appendix D-4

INCREMENTAL COSTS RE: MULTICULTURALISM SUMMARY

	1970	1975	1976	Adequate Service Level
By Function:				
a) Translation & Interpretation	188,981	256,700	271,800	490,000
b) Program & Instruction	2,795,475	3,463,711	4,089,215	8,012,430
c) Curriculum Development	?	6,000	105,000	322,058
d) Support & Settlement Services	—	—	205,500	450,000
e) Communication & Information	102,869	81,647	123,649	267,000
f) Plant	40,855	29,059	30,750	30,000
	3,128,180	3,837,117	4,825,914	9,612,028
By Department:				
a) Curriculum & Program Division				
English as a Second Language	2,795,475	3,463,711	4,089,215	8,143,028
School Community Relations	—	—	208,000	469,000
Curriculum Development	—	6,000	98,000	140,000
b) Schools & Area Offices	—	—	22,000	103,000
c) Personnel	—	—	—	75,000
d) Professional Services				
Social Work	188,981	251,900	233,800	335,000
Information & Publications	14,800	22,600	67,000	187,000
Library	—	—	—	15,000
Guidance	—	—	12,500	25,000
Research	88,169	63,847	64,649	90,000
e) Plant & Maintenance	40,855	29,059	30,750	30,000
	3,128,180	3,837,117	4,828,914	9,612,028

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

Appendix D-5

TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

Estimated Cost of French Instruction
1976-77 School Year

Central French Department Salaries	$147,615.
Elementary Schools (Average Salary $17,800 x 115.5 Full-Time Equivalent Teachers)	2,056,000.
Secondary Schools (Average Salary $22,230 x 83.5 Full-time Equivalent Teachers)	1,856,000.
TOTAL DIRECT SALARY COSTS OF FRENCH INSTRUCTION	$4,059,615.
All "Other" Costs: Total Instruction Salaries in 1976 Constitute Approximately 63% of Total Estimated Expenditure.	
Therefore the share of "Other Costs" properly chargeable to French Instruction is: 37/63 x $4,059,615 =	2,384,000.
TOTAL COST OF FRENCH INSTRUCTION	$6,433,615.

Appendix E

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
MULTICULTURALISM:
TORONTO/IMTEC CASE STUDY

Go over questionnaire to obtain fuller answers
where needed (e.g., 14.0)

1.0 Interpretation of Multiculturalism.

1.1 Why do you define "multiculturalism" as ________________ ?
(See questionnaire. Probe to obtain full definition).

1.2 What groups (i) support your definition;
(ii) oppose your definition?
(Should include local community and staff where applicable.)

2.0 **Expectations of Toronto Board.**

2.1 What do you understand to be the Board's policy with respect to multiculturalism? Why do you think it was adopted?

2.2 To what extent do you think:
(i) it is being implemented in practice;
(ii) it will be implemented in practice?

3.0 **Questions Regarding Specific Programs**

3.1 What are the main goals of the ________________ program?
(See questionnaire.)

3.2 How did the program get started and agreed upon?
(Who was involved?)

3.3 What problems were encountered in obtaining agreement to go ahead with the program?

3.4 What problems were or are being encountered in trying to put the program into practice?

3.5 What factors helped or facilitated putting it into practice?

3.6 To what extent is the program being used as intended, or to what extent is it accomplishing its goals?

3.7 What are the main issues regarding the program that need to be addressed (i) now; and (ii) in the near future?

4.0 **General Basic Questions**

4.1 Do you think that multiculturalism should be a major educational goal? If so, what are the main value and purposes which underlie this goal?

4.2 What are the major barriers or problems that have to be addressed regarding the further development of multicultural programs?
(Probe problems at all levels — local, Board, Ministry, etc., and all types — money, staff, skills, materials, values.)

4.3 What are the main factors that currently support or facilitate further development?

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Toronto Board of Education

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Duncan Green, *Director of Education*

APPENDIX B

November 9, 1976

Mr. Gordon Cressy
Toronto Board of Education
155 College Street
Toronto, Ontario M5T 1P6

Dear Gordon:

I am not sure whether I should be sending this to you or Duncan Green. In a real sense it is to both of you – I will send a copy to Duncan.

Many thanks to you and all of the Toronto people who were involved in the development and presentation of the Toronto Case Study. It was a remarkably thorough and successful enterprise that added significantly to the seminar. A number of participants commented to me that the presentation of the Toronto Case Study was one of the most memorable events of the seminar. The reception afterwards was very much appreciated as well.

The Toronto delegation to the seminar was very impressive. We all learned a great deal from you all through your participation during the entire seminar.

Please extend my thanks and best wishes to all who were associated with the Toronto Case Study. I hope we will have an opportunity to meet again before too long.

Cordially,

Richard C. Williams
Director
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231 Moore Hall
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cc: Duncan Green